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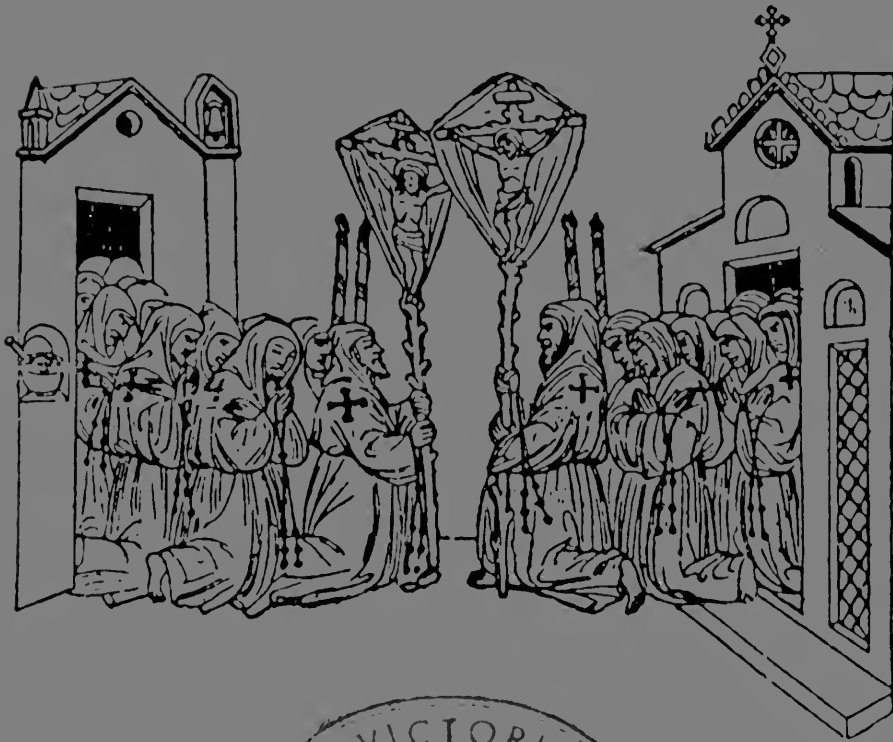
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Confraternitas



Society for Confraternity Studies



Confraternitas

Acting Editor
Dylan Reid

Confraternitas is published biannually (Spring and Fall) by the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies for the Society for Confraternity Studies. The subscription price is \$15 per annum.

Confraternitas welcomes brief articles, news and notes of interest to colleagues, notices of forthcoming conferences or papers, and general queries. Contributors are asked to use the A style of the *Chicago Manual of Style*.

Offprints and publications dealing with European confraternities in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance received by *Confraternitas* are listed under the "Publications Received" rubric and then deposited into the Confraternities Collection at the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies (Toronto).

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Tel: (416) 585-4486; fax: (416) 585-4591

Web site:

<http://citd.scar.utoronto.ca/CRRS/Confraternitas/index.htm>

ISSN 1180-0682

Confraternitas

Volume 8, No.1, Spring 1997

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Editor's Note

The editors are pleased to announce the establishment of the *Confraternitas* web site. Its address is:

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(be sure to follow the capitalization exactly).

The site contains the Tables of Contents of past and current issues, subscription information, news about conference sessions sponsored by the Society for Confraternity Studies, and a complete alphabetical listing of the Confraternities Collection at the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies in Toronto, which contains a considerable number of works on all aspects of confraternities. This makes the site a very useful resource for anyone interested in confraternity studies, and all subscribers and potential subscribers are encouraged to investigate.

Dylan Reid



Engraving taken from P. M. Campi, *Vita di S. Franca Vergine e badessa dell'ordine Cisterciense*, from Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy*, p. 182.

The Parisian Confraternity of the Pilgrims of Saint James: A Report on Research

ROBERT L.A. CLARK

Introductory Note

The following is a report on research first undertaken in the mid-1980s when I was in Paris researching my doctoral dissertation on confraternity drama. I was able to continue my work on the Saint-Jacques archive in 1995 within the context of an NEH Summer Seminar, "Gothic in the Ile-de-France," under the direction of Stephen Murray of Columbia University. This research is far from complete. Indeed, I will not be able to continue research on this massive archive until I secure further funding. Comments, inquiries, and suggestions are welcome, including suggestions regarding possible sources for project funding. I am also open to proposals for collaborative projects (interpretative or editorial) on the archive. Since my area of expertise is medieval French literature, the collaboration of art historians and/or historians would be especially welcome.

The Archive and the State of Scholarship

The archive of the confraternity of Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins (also known as Saint-Jacques-de-l'Hôpital) is conserved in the Archives de l'Assistance Publique, located in the Marais district in Paris. A survey and presentation of the archive was published by Henri Bordier in 1875–76.¹ The archive is divided into two *fonds*, the one containing various documents of a legal nature (charters, donations, real estate transactions, etc.), the other consisting of the accounts. In my research, I chose to concentrate on the account rolls, which are virtually complete for the years 1319 to 1708 and which provide minute detail about practically every aspect of the group's activities.

Despite this rich source of documentation, relatively few scholars have exploited the Saint-Jacques archive. Françoise Baron has carried out an exhaustive program of research on the art commissioned by the confraternity and the artists hired to execute it, publishing the results in two articles.² Bronislaw Geremek makes abundant use of

1 Henri Bordier, "La confrérie des Pèlerins de Saint-Jacques et ses archives", *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 1 (1875), 186–228; 2 (1876), 330–397; subsequently republished in Henri Bordier and Léon Brièle, *Les archives hospitalières de Paris* (Paris: Champion, 1877).

2 Françoise Baron, "Le décor sculpté et peint de l'Hôpital Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins", *Bulletin monumental* 133.1 (1975), 29–72; and "Enlumineurs, peintres et sculpteurs parisiens des XIVe et XVe siècles d'après les archives de l'Hôpital Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins", *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*,

the accounts in his monograph on Parisian laborers.³ Catherine Vincent cites a number of details from the work of Bordier and Baron in her *Confréries médiévales dans le royaume de France*.⁴ Finally, Henry Kraus devotes a few pages to the confraternity in his *Gold Was the Mortar*.⁵

The Saint-Jacques archive has thus been used primarily as a source for work in art history. Geremek's work demonstrates how valuable these records are for understanding the social fabric of medieval Paris, although he concentrates solely on the workers who were hired for the construction of the confraternity's church and hospice. We shall see that the Saint-Jacques archive gives a remarkably broad view of the urban culture of medieval Paris.

The Establishment Of The Saint-jacques Confraternity: Who Is Patronizing Whom?

The confraternity Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins had been in existence since the end of the thirteenth century but entered into a new phase of expansion after the death of Philip the Fair in 1314.⁶ In the course of a few years the confraternity built, under royal patronage, a new chapel and hospice for poor pilgrims passing through Paris on their way to the shrine of Saint James at Compostela.⁷ Philip's successor, Louis X, le Hutin, was anxious to show himself to be more a more conciliatory ruler and, in 1315, he granted (or, in fact, renewed) the right of Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins to assemble and conduct all business necessary to the running of the confraternity and to their own salvation. Two years later the confraternity embarked on an ambitious plan to acquire a large plot of land for the construction of the new buildings. This land, situated just inside the wall of Philip Augustus on the corner of the rue Saint-Denis and the rue Mauconseil, was prime real estate, already covered with a number of houses which the confraternity bought at considerable expense, lot by lot.

n.s. 6 (1971), 77–115.

- 3 Bronislaw Geremek, *Le salariat dans l'artisanat parisien aux XIIIe–XVe siècles: Etude sur le marché de la main-d'oeuvre au Moyen Age*, trans. Anna Posner et Christiane Klapisch-Zuber (Paris: Mouton, 1968).
- 4 Catherine Vincent, *Les confréries médiévales dans le royaume de France: XIIIe–XIVe siècle* (Paris: Michel, 1994).
- 5 Henry Kraus, *Gold Was the Mortar: The Economics of Cathedral Building* (London, Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), pp. 34–38. Kraus's account is highly readable, especially his relation of how five of the apostle statues escaped destruction and found their way into the collection of the Cluny museum. His work is, however, not as useful as it might be as he does not support it with adequate documentation.
- 6 The earliest document in the archive would seem to be a donation to the confraternity made in 1298 (Bordier 1, 190).
- 7 The buildings were pulled down in 1824. Other than the archives, the only vestiges of Saint-Jacques-de-l'Hôpital which have been positively identified are the above-mentioned five statues of apostles in the Cluny museum.

It is of interest that this neighborhood at the Porte Saint-Denis was, if you will, the “Soho” of medieval Paris.⁸ Several artists who would execute important commands for the confraternity sold houses to it which were subsequently demolished to make way for the new buildings. Indeed, it seems likely that this arrangement, along with the attractive location, explains the choice of the site. Thus, Robert de Lannoy, who would sculpt ten of the figures of the apostolic college for the chapel’s interior, had occupied the corner house where the chapel was erected. He had sold the house to another sculptor who would do work for the confraternity, Martin Maalot, and it was Martin who sold the house to the confraternity in 1319. Guillaume de Nooriche (or Nourriche), the sculptor who executed the other two apostles for the interior, also sold his house to the confraternity, as did another *ymagier*, Robert de Heudicourt.⁹ The acquiring of the land, which included paying the onerous rights of *amortissement*, was defrayed in part by pledges from 85 Parisian notables and by gifts from several members of the royal family.¹⁰ Philip V the Tall made a gift of 500 pounds, which was paid posthumously by his Jewish banker, Croissant de Corbueil, in 1324; his uncle, Charles de Valois, made a gift of 300 pounds; and his mother-in-law, Mahaut d’Artois, gave 80 pounds.

Once the necessary land had been acquired, construction progressed quickly. The complex of buildings, none of which has survived, consisted of three parallel, longitudinal spaces. The southernmost of these spaces was the “hospital” proper, in which the poor pilgrims were lodged. The middle structure was a sort of low chapel, separated from the hospital only by an arcade, in which religious services were held. Thus, the pilgrims could attend services from the adjoining hospital. The northernmost structure was the high chapel, or church, as it came to be called, doubtless reserved for religious services attended by the confraternity members themselves. The church was clearly a Gothic structure of some ambition, both by its size and by its decorative program. It had eight bays and measured approximately 35 by 12 meters. An enormous team of workers was engaged, either as journeymen or under contract for piecework, and the accounts lay out the expenditures for labor, from the clearing of the preexisting structures and the laying of the foundations to the raising of the walls and the vaulting and covering of the structure.

The bulk of the work seems to have been carried out within a period of five years under a master mason named Courat (or Conrat) Toussac, also referred to as Conrat de Saint-Germain.¹¹ The stone, both for the structure and for the statuary, was brought from limestone quarries situated near Paris, at Vitry, Saint-Cloud, and Vernon. (The

8 According to Bordier, the Porte Saint-Denis was known as the “Porte aux Peintres” (Bordier 2, 331).

9 Bordier 2, 332; cf. index of names in Baron, “Enlumineurs.”

10 According to the *Grand Robert de la langue française*, *amortissement* was paid by the Church (or other persons of mainmorte) to the local lord to indemnify the latter for loss of the rights he would normally receive when a property holder died. In the case of an incorporated body like a confraternity, there was little chance that the “person” would die. Hence the loss of rights and the requirement of an indemnity.

11 The building accounts are contained in the first roll, which covers the years 1319 to 1324 and which, unrolled, measures some 17 meters in length!

Saint-Cloud quarry was said to belong to the king.) The stone was brought both by cart and by boat, in the latter case unloaded at the port by the Louvre. The decorative program required the engaging of a number of sculptor-painters, most notably the previously mentioned two sculptors who were given the task of carving the statues of Christ and the apostolic college, doubtless inspired by the treatment of the same program at the Sainte-Chapelle (and hence one of the many royal associations to be found in the ambitious decorative program). Unfortunately, all that remains of the rich decoration of Saint-Jacques-de-l'Hôpital are the five apostles, carved by the same Guillaume de Nourriche and Robert de Lannoy, which are now in the Cluny museum in Paris. The considerable gifts from the royal family were not the full extent of the its association with the confraternity. Philip the Tall's wife, Joan of Burgundy, laid the foundation stone on February 18, 1319, and the accounts record the paying of four pounds to Guillaume de Nourriche for the carving of a stone, presumably a sculpted relief, which represented the "manner in which the queen placed the first stone, with the brothers alongside." This relief was placed next to the great portal of the structure, which gave access to both the chapel and the hospice. This representation of the laying of the cornerstone was not the only part of the sculptural program which represented contemporary personages. The accounts state that Raoul de Heudicourt and his aides were paid ninety-eight pounds ten sous for sculpting the figures for the main portal, specifically: a Saint James for the *trumeau*; then, to one side and kneeling before him, a figure of the queen; and, to the other side, figures of her four daughters and of her mother, the Countess of Artois, who was also a benefactress of the confraternity and whose own *hôtel* was, incidentally, situated across the street from the portal.¹² These figures, which are simultaneously *priants* and donor portraits, are, according to Françoise Baron, perhaps the first to be so represented in monumental church sculpture.

What, one may ask, was the topical import of this unusual grouping of three generations of royal women on the chapel and hospice of a bourgeois confraternity? As Henry Kraus has suggested, the reference was, in all likelihood, to what is not depicted in the referent: a male heir. The queen's munificence and her active presence in the artistic program was doubtless a response to the desperate situation of the Capetian monarchy at this juncture, which ultimately would fail to produce a male heir.¹³ But, as already mentioned, the confraternity also had excellent relations with the Valois branch which would ultimately inherit the throne: Charles de Valois was not only a protector but, apparently, a member. His name heads the list of notables who pledged gifts to the confraternity, and, furthermore, he actually made the pilgrimage to Compostela and was received with great pomp by the confraternity upon his return in 1323 or 1324.¹⁴

12 Françoise Baron has suggested that this sculpture of the royal women was on the lintel above the *trumeau* on the authority of an engraving from the early nineteenth century, itself based on a seventeenth-century drawing, although she admits that this evidence is unreliable ("Décor", 35).

13 A male child had died in February of 1317, a month after Philip had ascended the throne.

14 Bordier 1, 198.

What, one may well ask, did the various members of the royal family hope to gain by their active association in the life of the confraternity? Besides the prayers of the *confrères* and of the pilgrims in the hospice—for a male heir, for their health and well-being, or, failing that, for their salvation—there was the not inconsiderable satisfaction of seeing themselves represented on a church portal, which is to say within a highly charged symbolic register of visual representation. Furthermore, this portal was on the rue Saint-Denis, the most royal of all Parisian streets, the route of processions and royal entries, such as the procession from the Abbey of Saint-Denis to the Royal Palace on the Ile-de-la-Cité after the kings' coronation. Thus, the immutable figures on the Saint-Jacques portal occupied a liminal position between the civic rituals of the rue Saint-Denis and the religious rituals observed inside the chapel, between public and semi-public, or semi-private, spaces. On a somewhat more subtle level, politically speaking, royal patronage was doubtless a means to win the favor of the Parisian bourgeois elites, not a small factor in times of political turmoil and uncertain monarchic successions. These donor strategies, to use Corine Schleif's term, would not, unfortunately for the monarchy, withstand the trials of the Hundred Years War.¹⁵ Etienne Marcel, the powerful provost of Paris who was to lead an urban insurrection in the 1350s against the monarchy and who would seek unsuccessfully to turn the city over to the enemies of the crown, was also one of the governors of the Saint Jacques confraternity.

What, in turn, did the confraternity members gain from royal patronage? The gifts already mentioned, although quite generous by any standard, still account for only approximately 14% of the total receipts from the five-year period during which the chapel and hospice were built, which total some 4800 pounds. To answer this question, we must return to questions involving the difficulties of inserting a religious institution into an already crowded urban landscape. While the *confrères* seem to have encountered no serious obstacles in their acquisition of the land needed for their foundation, there was stiff opposition from the curate of Saint-Eustache, in whose parish the new church was to be situated, and from the chapter of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, which was the mother parish of Saint-Eustache and the other new parishes which had sprung up in the eleventh century around the new marketplace (the site of Les Halles until it was bulldozed in the 1970s to make way for tacky commercial development). It took two years of negotiations, which included securing the approval of the papal see at Avignon, to settle this conflict. In this matter the pope named two commissioners whose job it was to ascertain the financial ability of the confraternity to maintain a clergy of four chaplains, at a total cost of 170 pounds a year. The two commissioners were the bishop of Beauvais, Jean de Marigny, and the papal notary Geoffroy du Plessis. This was, in fact, the same team which had earlier served as examiners in the adultery trial which had been brought against Joan of Burgundy in 1314. Cleared of the charges against her, she returned to her husband, the future Philip the Tall... and gave him the four daughters represented with her on

15 Corine Schleif, "Hands That Appoint, Anoint and Ally: Late Medieval Donor Strategies for Appropriating Approbation through Painting", *Art History* 16 (1993), 1–32.

the chapel's façade. Both Jean de Marigny and Geoffroy du Plessis became important protectors of the confraternity: the bishop of Beauvais celebrated the first mass in the new chapel (and was portrayed there in at least two sculptures) and Geoffroi du Plessis made gifts for portal statues. In short, the confraternity needed powerful protectors in order to counter the hostility of the ecclesiastical establishment. Thus, we see that the founding of Saint-Jacques-de-l'Hôpital is, in fact, but another chapter in the clash of spheres of interest on the Right Bank between the Church, on the one hand, and the monarch and his bourgeois subjects, on the other.

The resolution of the conflict resulted in the construction of the confraternity's chapel and hospice. Through the building project, the bourgeois members of the confraternity effectively established themselves as important patrons in their own right, not to mention as the retainers of a considerable work force. At its height, it numbered at least seventy journeymen, to which one must add those workers who were engaged to do piecework. This work resulted in a tremendous flow of funds: in the five-year period under consideration, a total expenditure in excess of 5700 pounds. According to Henri Bordier, the three governors each advanced 300 pounds, probably to cover the approximate 900 pound deficit outstanding at the end of their term.¹⁶ But against the monetary outlay, one must weigh the tremendous cultural capital that accrued to the confraternity and to its distinguished members. I do not mean to suggest that their spiritual concerns were not sincere but rather that so large an undertaking must result in political benefits—in prestige, power and influence—which were gained from the enterprise. The burghers of Paris were big players in the affairs of the city and of the realm, and, in Saint-Jacques-de-l'Hôpital, they endowed themselves with an institution through which they inscribed themselves in the urban landscape, in the political field, and in the economics of medieval Paris. Thus, we see that the Gothic could become a vehicle for the self-promotion of urban elites with a political agenda which both Church and monarchy sought, not without reason, to counter or control. The benefits of patronage clearly flowed in both directions, and it is an open question whether the confraternity members or their royal patrons benefited more from what was a mutually satisfying and overtly political arrangement.

The Festive Life of the Saint-Jacques Confraternity

The annual banquet, or *siège*, was, of course, the high point of the group's collective life and was a lavish affair, requiring the outlay of significant funds and considerable effort. The account rolls provide abundant evidence of this; indeed, in each fiscal year, a separate account was kept for the banquet. Unlike other confraternities, the Saint-Jacques confraternity did not need to worry about securing a suitable locale for its banquet: it was held in a structure attached to the church and hospital, referred to in the accounts as the *logeis*. The *confrères* also rented this space, for twenty to sixty sous, to confraternities with no hall of their own.¹⁷ We learn from the accounts that

16 Bordier 2, 342.

17 Among the confraternities renting the *logeis* were the Confrérie Notre Dame de Boulogne,

the *siège* called for a general house-cleaning: the church, *logeis*, and court were cleaned, the reliquaries burnished, the vestments refurbished. Then the *logeis* was decorated. Every year, *pavillons* or *courtines* were put up. This was a major operation: in 1332 a certain Jehan Dilibart did the work in six days, using some 1500 nails. The same year a long pole was acquired to hold a fine cloth above the head table. The *luminaire*, chaplets and painted rods (*verges*) were made ready; grass was spread over the floor; tables, chairs and crockery were rented.¹⁸ It was also necessary to prepare the *méreaux*, or tokens, which allowed admission to the banquet. In 1326 the confraternity paid 25 sous for 1536 tin *méreaux*, for in these years before the Black Death, more than a thousand people sat for dinner at the banquet. In 1340, 1080 members paid 2 sous each to sit for dinner at the banquet; in 1341, 1308 members; in 1342, 1044 members.¹⁹ After the Black Death, in 1352, only 700 were served, 163 of whom were new members.

The amount of food prepared was commensurate with the number of people to be fed. For the 1080 revellers in 1340, the *doyens* of the confraternity, who oversaw all the expenditures for the banquet, paid for five cows, twenty pigs, three thousand eggs, two large barrels of white wine, and three of red. (The entrance to the wine cellar was blocked off every year before the banquet as a precautionary measure.) As noted above, the banquet accounts were kept separately from the day-to-day accounts of the confraternity, and the money from entrance fees and alms collected throughout the city was supposed to cover the expense. Still, the deficit or balance from the banquet was figured into total expenditures and revenues, and one can calculate that the banquet represented as much as 30 or 35% of total yearly expenditures.

Entertainment and edification were, of course, important aspects of the banquet, and the Saint-Jacques confraternity sold tokens for their banquet that allowed entry but did not include the meal. The accounts show that a *frère* was paid to preach a sermon and also that *jongleurs* were paid to provide entertainment. On at least one occasion, a play was presented. Unfortunately, this would seem to be the unique mention in the accounts of the staging of a play, but it contains valuable information about confraternity drama at a relatively early date. The entry in the account roll for 1324-25 reads: "Treize l. par. que les pelerins qui firent le jeu au jour du siege queuillirent par les tables au diner."²⁰ The Confrères themselves, then (who are

the Confrérie des Trois Rois de Cologne, the Confrérie de la Madeleine, the Confrérie saint Julien aux Jongleurs, the Puy Gyeffroy de Flouri, the Confrérie Notre Dame de Liesse, etc.

18 The chaplets and *verges* were probably carried by the members and officers during a public procession.

19 Here it should be noted that at this time 2 *sous* was roughly the equivalent of a journeyman's daily wage. An entry in the Saint-Jacques account rolls for 1331-32 records that a *couvreur* and his *valet* were paid 3 s. 8 d. for one day's work. In the account rolls for 1341-42, a master *couvreur* is recorded as having earned 4 lb. 14 s. 6 d. for 27 days' work, which makes for a per diem of 3 s. 6 d.

20 "Thirteen pounds *parisis* which the pilgrims who performed the play collected from the tables at the dinner."

referred to in the accounts as *pèlerins*), staged the play, possibly a Saint Jacques play, on the day of the banquet and then took up a collection to further the work of the confraternity and defray its expenses.

The accounts of the same confraternity also show that charity was an integral part of the banquet. Those paying to attend were expected to give alms. (One could, of course, give alms without attending.) These alms were distributed on the day of the feast, when each pauper who came to the hospital door was to receive one *denier*. In 1332, for example, a sum of over eleven *livres* is recorded as “argent donné le jour du siège”—thus, to a staggering total of over 2500 paupers. The other form of charity practised was the distribution of the left-over food (*relief*), which took place at the Halles. In 1328, for example, ten sous were paid “pour porter le relief et le pain de l’aumosne en la halle.”²¹ The charitable works and convivial celebrations of the confraternity complete the picture of its social and economic participation in the life of the city.

Conclusion

This cursory presentation of the Saint-Jacques confraternity and its archive can give only an indication of the tremendous interest they hold for a broad range of scholars—urban, institutional and social historians and art historians—working on an array of issues, including cultural and material history, labor relations, issues of patronage, the practice of charity, and, of course, confraternities. The Saint-Jacques confraternity was clearly a space within which the different groups (Capetians and Valois, urban elites, clergy, artisans and journeymen, the poor and the transient) came together in pursuit of what were, for the most part, distinctly divergent interests. This material is, indeed, ideally suited for studies that would seek to show, in a specific context, the intersection and interplay of factors which are most often studied from a more narrow disciplinary perspective. It is my hope that this presentation will encourage others to visit and study the archive of Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins.

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21 We know from the archives of other confraternities that such acts of charity, usually in conjunction with the banquet, were commonplace. The Parisian goldsmiths were required by their statutes to provide a meal on Easter for the paupers in the Hôtel-Dieu. The drapers' guild, on the day of its banquet, was required to feed not only the poor in the Hôtel-Dieu, but also the prisoners in the Châtelet. All Franciscans and Dominicans were entitled to receive a *denier's* worth of bread at the drapers' banquet, and all paupers who requested alms were to receive bread or a small coin if the bread ran out. Finally, the left-over food was to be distributed to the leper houses.

The *Compagnia di San Paolo* and the Turinese Poor

MARGARET J. MOODY

From time to time, unintended consequences can outlive the best laid plans. A confraternity established in the sixteenth century to combat the Lutheran heresy may appear in the first half of the twentieth century in the disparate forms of a major banking establishment and a hospital for the indigent. Such is the case with the *Compagnia di San Paolo di Torino*. The bank (*Istituto Bancario di San Paolo di Torino*) continues to exist, but it is the now-closed hospital/poorhouse which traces its origin more directly to the founding works and aims of the *Compagnia di San Paolo di Torino*. The *Ospedale di Carità* served continuously in its primary role as a poorhouse on the Via Po in Turin from 1697 to well into the twentieth century.¹ It was an outgrowth of previous less successful attempts at establishing an institution designed to help the poorest of the Turinese poor.

Tracing back through these precursor institutions leads directly to its sixteenth century foundations: the *Monte di Pietà* (a Franciscan-operated moneylender established in 1519) and the *Compagnia di San Paolo* (the well-known Turinese confraternity established in 1563), which adopted the *Monte di Pietà* structure to carry out one of its aims.

The Monte di Pietà, Precursor to the Compagnia di San Paolo

A Franciscan brother proposed the founding of a *Monte di Pietà* in April 1519. As sufficient donations arrived, it was established on April 27, 1519. At first the Franciscans oversaw the institution, but, shortly thereafter, the city of Turin brought it under its patronage.² As a result, the city and the archbishop donated money, and Duke Charles II immediately approved the creation of the institution. However, this first *Monte di Pietà* in Turin was not long-lived; war broke out between the French and the Spanish over Lombardy in 1521, and in the following four years the war gravely damaged Turin's economy. In 1525 the Spanish were victorious; they occupied Piedmont until 1529. The *Monte di Pietà* collapsed, as the Dukes could not supply the institution with funds.³

1 Archivio dell Comune, Turin (hereafter ACT), "Categoria in *Inventario dell'Ospedale di Carità* (Torino)", 7.

2 Mario Abrate, *Istituto Bancario San Paolo di Torino, 1563-1963 IV Centenario* (Torino: Istituto Bancario San Paolo di Torino, 1963), 39-40.

3 *Ibid.*

The Compagnia di San Paolo, Precursor to the Ospedale di Carità

Three decades elapsed before the next precursor to the *Ospedale* appeared. These years were not placid; they saw the continuation of the same conditions which had already led to the collapse of the *Monte di Pietà*, notably the war and the subsequent occupation by foreigners. On April 1, 1536, Francis I, King of France, occupied Turin. The *Monte di Pietà* having collapsed, and with it the campaign against the Lutheran heresy, Francis I assumed the anti-heretical task.⁴ The calamities of war and foreign occupation were compounded by an outbreak of the plague in 1558–1559. By 1559 bread was scarce, and misery was widespread.

Although a peace treaty had been signed in 1559,⁵ the French did not leave Turin until 1562, and the Duke only entered the city on February 7, 1563.⁶ Despite Francis I's re-organized campaign against "the Lutheran heresy", it remained a major concern after he had departed.⁷ Duke Emanuele Filiberto had not yet arrived in Turin when, on January 25, 1563, the confraternity entitled the *Compagnia di San Paolo* was founded. This confraternity was established by a group of prominent men organized to meet perceived societal problems, preeminently spiritual matters. The primary spiritual matter was the strengthening of faith necessary to combat the Lutheran heresy.⁸ Poor-relief did not appear until later. Indeed, for the first century and a half after its foundation, the *Compagnia* was involved in a variety of spiritual initiatives, to which the poor-relief activities which led to the establishment of the *Ospedale* were only incidental.

Poor-relief and the Compagnia

In all, the *Compagnia*'s programs involved seven "works", part spiritual (countering the heresy of Luther), part social. The first work (*Opera*) was to sustain the faithful by encouraging them to partake of the Holy Sacraments, and thus participate in the Reform of the Church (*Riforma della Chiesa*). In order to maintain the holy Catholic faith, the confraternity encouraged the cult of the Eucharist (*culto della Divina Eucaristia*).⁹

The second major work, being educational, did have an incidental bearing on the poor. In March, 1567, the *Compagnia di San Paolo* participated in the establishment of the *Collegio di Torino*, and thus became partly responsible for the education of the Piedmontese youth. To the extent that this included the poor, this work had an incidental element of poor-relief.¹⁰

4 Conte D. Emanuele Tesauo, *Istoria della Venerabile Compagnia della Fede Cattolica sotto L'Invocazione nell'Augusta Città di Torino* (Torino: Battista Zappata Libraro di S.A.R., seconda edizione, 1701), 7.

5 Francesco Cognasso, *Storia di Torino* (Firenze: Giunti Martello, 1978), 197.

6 *Ibid.*, 198–201.

7 Tesauo, *Istoria della Venerabile...*, 7.

8 *Ibid.*, 20. Abrate, *Istituto Bancario San Paolo...*, 26.

9 Tesauo, *Istoria della Venerabile...*, 23.

10 *Ibid.*, 40–1.

The third work undertaken by the *Compagnia di San Paolo* was purely spiritual. It established the *Congregazione della Beata Vergine* to combat the Lutheran heresy by increasing religious devotions and practices.¹¹

In contrast, the fourth work did have relevance as a precursor of the *Ospedale*. It furthered the establishment of the *Monte di Pietà* to help the poor in general, but especially to help the *poveri vergognosi*—the “shame-faced poor”—persons of rank who were specially worthy of help, privately provided, because of their position in society.¹²

The fifth work of the *Compagnia di San Paolo* was designed to have a direct effect on a narrow element of the poor: impecunious unmarried virgin women. It established the House of Help for Virgins (*Casa del Soccorso delle Vergini*).¹³ It had a broader effect on the poor when the limitation “*delle Vergini*” was dropped and the charge was expanded to include fallen women, invoking the name of Mary Magdalene.¹⁴

A further expansion extended the services of the *Casa del Soccorso* to additional poor. Widows with insufficient funds to raise their girl children became a concern, as did the upbringing of girls whose mothers’ reputations were considered improper. The *Casa del Soccorso* usually had more than twenty young women, who had to follow the rules of *L’Ufficio Pio*.

The decision regarding admission to the *Casa* usually rested with the parish priest, based on an interview with the mother and child. The technique later found a use at the *Ospedale* itself.¹⁵

Thus, recovering women to the faith involved a measure of poor-relief. The *Compagnia di San Paolo* provided dowries for virgin women; it provided clothes for poor women; and it accomplished the *Pie Disposizioni de’ Testatori*.¹⁶

The sixth and seventh works had no direct effect on the poor; they related to the establishment of an Oratory of prayers, especially for their rulers (*i propi Principi*),¹⁷ and the building of “*Tempi, e Edifici*” in honor of God.¹⁸

The Compagnia di Carità in Turin

Beside the internal pressures to serve the poor that grew out of the *Compagnia*’s original purposes, a major expansion of services to the poor resulted when the *Compagnia* sought and achieved inclusion within an existing category of papal approval and support. This papal favor was to lead directly to the organization of the earlier versions of the *Ospedale*.

11 *Ibid.*, 55–56.

12 *Ibid.*, 66–69.

13 *Ibid.*, 77.

14 *Ibid.*, 80.

15 *Ibid.*, 82.

16 *Ibid.*, 80–85.

17 *Ibid.*, 86.

18 *Ibid.*, 100–106.

In 1520, before the creation of the *Compagnia di San Paolo* in Turin, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici established a confraternity in Rome entitled the *Compagnia di Carità*, dedicated to the needs of the *poveri vergognosi*, the assistance of the incarcerated, and the burial of the dead. Pope Leo X approved of this confraternity, and lent his authority as head to all such *compagnie* using the title of *Carità*, wherever these institutions would be founded.¹⁹

In order to participate in the privileges conferred by Rome, the *Confratelli di San Paolo* were required not only to operate under the style of *Carità*, but also to expand their concern from housing the "shameful poor" to housing beggars.

Thus, almost twenty years after the founding of the *Compagnia di San Paolo*, the Turinese city government gave grants to its *Compagnia di Carità* in 1582. The purpose of these grants was to gather all the poor beggars in the city in one location, an establishment which was named the *Albergo della Carità*. This institution would provide shelter, clothing, and food. The sick would be taken care of, and the healthy would work in the wool manufactory (*lanificio*) and at other trades. Contributions were given by each of the confraternities to build this *Albergo della Carità* in the suburb along the Po River.²⁰

There were two attempts to establish a permanent *Ospedale di Carità*: 1627, and 1650. The actual construction, at the Via Po site which was to be its permanent location, began at the beginning of 1682 and was finished at the end of 1697. Like many such institutions before and since, the *Ospedale* in its final form was an outgrowth of earlier efforts to solve the problem of poverty. It was, however, both significant and unusual in its ability to survive for over two centuries.

Margaret J. Moody

19 *Ibid.* (Torino: Gio. Sinibaldo Stampator Regio, e Camerale, 1657, first edition), 189.

20 *Ibid.*, 190.

Thesis Completed (Abstract)

Moody, Margaret Josephine. *From Applicant to Inmate: The Regio Ospedale di Carità di Torino: 1748–1756*. PhD. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1996. Supervisor, Professor Geoffrey Symcox.

After a brief history of the Ospedale di Carità, a study of four cities' poor-relief systems whose geographical locations circle the city of Turin, and a chapter on institutional procedures, this statistical study concerns persons who applied for help during the years of 1748, 1750, 1752, 1754, and 1756.

A detailed database was compiled from the 2,347 applications for assistance, containing each applicant's family history, original request, and final disposition. Essentially, each record included the following data: the name, age and parentage of the applicant, parish and home location, and the nature of the help requested. Additional data included details of spouses and child(ren), medical condition and/or disability, and a record of the actions and procedures that followed.

The study is limited to the process by which the indigent persons applied for relief, and the institutional response they received. Some applicants were accepted into custody or hospitalized. Others were assigned a status similar to that of "outpatient." Still others were rejected, either conditionally or outright.

The study is divided into three parts: the identity and characteristics of the applicants, the factors of need, and the nature and quality of the institution's reaction to their petitions.

The conclusions of the study include the following:

- By mid-century, the Ospedale was primarily devoted to relief for the infirm, the aged and the very young; only 1% of the applications were made on behalf of able-bodied persons between the ages of 20 and 50.
- The services were available only to Turin residents; unmodified petition grants were made equally to Turin-born applicants and to immigrants, but native Turinese escaped denial through modification disproportionately.
- While short-term (monthly) trends in applications did not reflect short-term economic changes, longer-term (yearly) application levels reflected yearly economic fluctuations.
- About 500 applications were made each year (except 1754, a year of exceptionally low grain prices).
- Applicants sought admission as poorhouse residents, hospitalization, or extra-mural awards (bread allotment or wetnurse services), either by specification or requests for aid in general.

- Applications were submitted daily, but peaked on days the evaluation committee met—as did immediate responses as well as responses to previous applications.
- An eligible applicant could expect a grant as requested half the time, the other half being equally divided among modification, rejection, postponement, or no recorded action; three-fourths of the applicants could expect a firm response (i.e., neither postponed nor without any recorded action).
- Efficiency was high; over half the decisions were made on the day of recorded application or the next day, over three-quarters within a week.
- Specific requests resulted in more timely responses; non-specific requests, by definition, had to be modified, requiring evaluation, usually resulting in an allotment of bread, less often in hospitalization.
- Needs for admission were discerned more clearly and acted on more promptly than requests for hospitalization, which required evaluation by trained staff.
- Weather and the economy affected the intake in predictable ways.
- The most numerous applications were filed by persons between the ages of twenty and forty—but, in the case of able-bodied applicants, on behalf of others. Since some sixty percent of the applications were made solely on behalf of the applicant, it is not unexpected that almost three-quarters of the applications were made on behalf of persons of the applicant's generation.
- Roughly forty percent of the applications were on behalf of others.
- Applicant families were small.
- Almost half of the requests were made on behalf of the admission to the Opera Grande of one person, usually the applicant. Over one-fourth of the applicants requested hospitalization in the Opera Grande, again on behalf of one person.
- The Ospedale continued to be a royally-chartered, lay-operated institution during the period.
- Abandonment, possession of a marketable skill as evidenced by previous employment, and recognition of skill as evidenced by guild status all affected the likelihood of needing Ospedale services.
- Infirmities were the prime qualification for entry to the Opera Grande, especially those associated with advanced age, and contagious or acute disease (primarily tuberculosis or syphilis, secondarily cancer) were qualifications for hospitalization in the Opera Nuova.
- Maintenance of a connection or family dependency with the Ospedale beyond ten years was rare; half of the cases were concluded in one year, and less than one-tenth of one percent were truly long-term relationships.

News

In 1996 the SCS received 30 books, 21 articles, 1 review, 12 journal issues and 1 M.A. thesis. All these items were listed in the "Publications Received" rubric of vol. 7 (1996) of *Confraternitas*, and many of the books were also reviewed in it. All items were then added to the Confraternities Collection at the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies (Toronto). Since 1990, when we began receiving such publications from our members and friends, the Confraternities Collection has developed into a noteworthy repository of our scholarship in medieval and early modern lay religious associations. The list of works contained in the collection up to the end of 1996 is now available at the *Confraternitas* web site, at:

<http://citd.scar.utoronto.ca/CRRS/Confraternitas/index.htm>

(be sure to follow the capitalization exactly).

We encourage all our readers to keep sending us their (and their friends') publications, partly to support the development of this collection and partly to help disseminate the research that is currently being carried out in our field.

Joëlle Rollo-Koster has organized two sessions on behalf of the Society for Confraternity Studies at the **1997 Congress on Medieval Studies** at Western Michigan University, **Kalamazoo** (May 8–11). They will be held consecutively on the morning of Sunday, May 11. They are as follows:

Confraternities in Europe and the New World

(Sunday, May 11, 8:30 AM)

G.H. Martin (University of Essex), "Some English Gilds of Saint Helena and the Cult of Holy Cross".

Susan Verdi Webster (University of Saint Thomas), "Confraternities and Popular Religion in the Colonial Americas".

Confraternities and Social Spaces

(Sunday, May 11, 10:30 AM)

Roisin Cossar (University of Toronto), "Constructing Civic Space: The Misericordia Maggiore and the Commune of Bergamo, 1300–1360".

Giles Knox (University of Toronto), "Confraternal Strategies and the Politics of Civic Identities in Sixteenth Century Bergamo".

Robert L.A. Clark (Kansas State University), "Cultural Politics at the Porte Saint-Denis: The Confraternity of Saint-Jacques-aux-Pelerins".

Forum

Robert Clark is currently researching the archive of the confraternity of Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins in Paris (see his article in this issue, above). He is currently seeking funding in order to continue this research, and would appreciate comments, inquiries and suggestions about his project, including suggestions regarding possible sources for project funding. He is also interested in proposals for collaborative projects (interpretive or editorial), particularly from art historians and/or historians, since his own expertise is medieval French literature.

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Pagella di aggregazione alla confraternita de Santa Caterina da Genova tratta dalla matrice from Genova: Il Sestiere di Portoria, p. 36.

Confraternities on the Edge: Publications on Borgomanero

Review Article

GILES KNOX

Piero Zanetta and Laura Chironi Temporelli. *Le confraternite di Borgomanero* (Collana documentaria borgomanerese I). Borgomanero, 1988. 201 pp., illustrations; Laura Chironi Temporelli. *Le confraternite di Borgomanero: mostra documentaria*. Borgomanero, 1988. 73 pp., illustrations; Piero Zanetta, Andrea Zanetta and Laura Chironi Temporelli. *La confraternita di Santa Marta in Borgomanero* (Collana documentaria borgomanerese II). Borgomanero, 1990. 351 pp., illustrations; Laura Chironi Temporelli. *La confraternita di Santa Marta in Borgomanero: catalogo della mostra documentaria* (Collana documentaria borgomanerese III). Borgomanero, 1990. 129 pp., illustrations; Andrea Zanetta, *La confraternita di San Giuseppe e la sua Chiesa in Borgomanero dal XIV al XX secolo* (Collana documentaria borgomanerese IV). Borgomanero, 1992. 430 pp., illustrations; Paolo Venturoli and Laura Chironi Temporelli, *La confraternita di San Giuseppe in Borgomanero: catalogo della mostra documentaria* (Collana documentaria borgomanerese V). Borgomanero, 1992. 161 pp., illustrations; Andrea Zanetta, *La Chiesa e la confraternita della SS. Trinità dal 1590 ad oggi* (Collana documentaria borgomanerese VI). Borgomanero, 1994. 371 pp., illustrations; Andrea Zanetta, Laura Chironi Temporelli, Beatrice Canestro Chiovena and Adriano Cervia, *La Chiesa e la confraternita della SS. Trinità: catalogo della mostra documentaria* (Collana documentaria borgomanerese VII). Borgomanero, 1994. 179 pp., illustrations; Carlo Antonio Molli, *San Bartolomeo parrocchiale di Borgomanero* (Collana di studi borgomaneresi V). Borgomanero, 1986. 191 pp., illustrations.

Non-Italian scholars of early modern Italy have, in the past, understandably concentrated their efforts on the study of major centres, particularly Florence, Venice and Rome. In Italy itself, by contrast, there has also been a strong parallel tradition of researching sites of lesser importance. One reason for this difference is perhaps obvious: international scholars cannot rely on a local audience positively predisposed to the results of such focused work. But there has sometimes also existed a regrettable prejudice against local history, with scholars arguing that if a place played no great role in the master narrative of European history then any study of it is bound to produce uninteresting results. Recently, however, these preconceptions have been reevaluated, resulting in books by non-Italian scholars on Bologna, Brescia, and Vicenza, to name but a few notable examples. These works have shown that, in spite of a certain distance from the main centres of power, the histories of these towns are interesting in themselves, and cast light on phenomena relevant to the general history of the peninsula. At the same time, the writing of the history of the confraternity, as

all readers of this journal will know, has become an extremely important undertaking. Following the general pattern outlined above, non-Italian scholarship has emphasised confraternities in the major centres. Without case studies on confraternities in smaller towns that can provide contrast and context to those in the larger centres, however, historians are unable to develop a convincing picture of the broader roles confraternities played within the political, social and religious networks of early modern Italy.

The series of works under consideration here focuses on confraternities in Borgomanero, a small town located in Piedmont, between Novara and lago d'Orta. Borgomanero was founded in the Middle Ages, but was not sufficiently important to merit its own parish church, S. Bartolomeo, until the thirteenth century. Following this foundation, the town's importance gradually increased, and confraternities began to be founded. From 1988 to 1994, four exhibitions on the history and art patronage of local confraternities were held in Borgomanero. Accompanying each exhibition were two books, one focusing on the history of the confraternities in question, and the other a catalogue of the objects in the exhibition. The propulsive forces behind this ambitious local project seem to have been the brothers Andrea and Piero Zanetta, along with Laura Chironi Temporelli, who provided art historical accompaniment to their efforts. In the following comments, I will first deal with each of the historical works in sequence, and then with the art historical catalogues as a group.

The first pair of books, associated with the exhibition in 1988, deals with all the confraternities in Borgomanero and serves as a foundation for the later books concentrating on individual institutions. In this first book, the history of confraternities in the town is divided by Piero Zanetta into two sections. The first, dealing with the pre-Tridentine period, describes the origins of confraternities in the town. In the Trecento, only two confraternities were active, one based at the oratory of S. Marta, and the other at an adjoining oratory dedicated to Mary Magdalen. At this early stage it is not clear what was the relationship of these oratories with the parish. In 1486 a confraternity dedicated to the Immaculate Conception was established at the parish church. In the sixteenth century, there was real growth in the number and significance of confraternities. In the early years of that century two were established, one dedicated to S. Giuseppe and the other to the Corpus Domini. The first of these was linked to the oratory of Mary Magdalen, whereas the Sacrament confraternity was based in S. Bartolomeo. In the second part of the history, which describes events following the Council of Trent, Piero Zanetta outlines the late sixteenth century establishment of confraternities dedicated to the Rosary and to Christian Doctrine, as well as a foundation dedicated to the Trinity endowed by a repentant noble. The author traces the histories of all these institutions up to the twentieth century, though none of them survives today.

In addition to providing a straightforward recounting of dates and events, Piero Zanetta also comments on a variety of other aspects of confraternity life. There is, for instance, a brief discussion of what types of people, in terms of class, gender and occupation, were attracted to which confraternity. The history of the oratories and other buildings associated with each organisation is investigated in greater detail, as is the art produced as decoration for these sites. In this last respect Chironi Temporelli's accompanying catalogue forms an important adjunct. In addition, the

attempts by the central ecclesiastical authorities to impose control on the confraternities following the Council of Trent are adumbrated convincingly. Throughout this first volume, however, no footnotes are used to direct the scholar to the relevant archival sources, rendering its conclusions of limited utility.

The regrettable omission of archival references is remedied in the later volumes of the series. The second pair of books, which accompanied an exhibition in 1990 on the confraternity of S. Marta, is provided with a full scholarly apparatus. As in the historical volume of the first pair discussed above, the text follows a chronological sequence that continues up to the present day, but is in this volume much more detailed, as well as better documented. At the end of the book is an appendix of transcribed documents, including inventories and papal Bulls, ranging in date from 1556 to 1940. The activities and organisation of the confraternity are again described, but perhaps the most interesting and fully developed part of the narrative concerns tensions manifest from the late sixteenth through seventeenth century between the central ecclesiastical authorities and the confraternity. Piero Zanetta has drawn on a wide range of documents to paint a convincing picture of the maneuverings of each side. This particular case study can certainly be used by scholars seeking to nuance any research into this important dynamic.

The 1992 pair of books on the confraternity dedicated to S. Giuseppe follows the same format as the previous pair and deals with the issues in a substantially similar fashion. This confraternity was founded in the early sixteenth century under Franciscan influence, but, as with the confraternity of S. Marta, the most interesting aspect of its history was its struggle with the bishop in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Both of these confraternities finally amalgamated with archconfraternities in Rome. While this development may have been motivated by a desire to benefit from the indulgences offered by these institutions, it was probably also related to the struggle with the episcopal authorities. The examples of S. Giuseppe and S. Marta are of use to those interested in studying how confraternities developed strategies for the maintenance of lay autonomy.

The last pair of books is a study of a confraternity dedicated to the Trinity, which was founded in 1590 by Giuseppe Maione. He and his brother Francesco had been banished from Borgomanero in 1552 following a smuggling operation that led to the death of seven tax officials. They moved to Rome where the two became wealthy traders and, perhaps because of his association with Filippo Neri, Giuseppe decided to found a confraternity and hospital in his home town as an act of penitence. This study should be of interest to those studying connexions between confraternities and the emerging Orders of the Counter-Reformation.

Each of the above pairs of books includes a volume cataloguing the art objects shown during the exhibition. The goal of these catalogues is simply to describe, date and attribute, if possible, each of the exhibits. The objects range widely in quality, function, medium and date; there are processional banners, altarpiece paintings, crosses, and other assorted liturgical paraphernalia, representing, in other words, the full range of luxury items that a confraternity might possess. Some of the pieces can be dated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but the majority of them come from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Even though Chironi Temporelli has

written a thorough catalogue, the role of this material accumulation in the history of the institutions is not discussed outside of the individual catalogue entries. In spite of this shortcoming, such catalogues are of great value for those interested in the visual culture of confraternities in early modern Italy. Without them, it would be impossible to investigate the broader issue of how confraternities used visual means to establish and maintain their identities.

The last of the publications under consideration here, on the parish of S. Bartolomeo, does not focus directly on confraternities, but is still of some relevance here. In this study Piero Zanetta has reproduced a manuscript text written by the eighteenth-century antiquarian Carlo Antonio Molli on the parish church, and added to it not simply annotations, but a complete parallel text that draws on Zanetta's own extensive research into the archives. Zanetta's additions include, for example, a 1617 inventory of the church's possessions. Zanetta provides a fully documented building history of the church, and identifies the patrons responsible for each of the chapels. At least three of these chapels were controlled by confraternities based in the parish. It is to be regretted that the death of the author prevented him from writing the planned companion volume to this one, focusing on the involvement of these confraternities in the parish. Such a study would have been a valuable addition to our knowledge of the extent to which confraternities participated in the consolidation of the parish in the late sixteenth century. But even without it, this parish history is exceptionally well documented, and a valuable tool for anyone interested in the development of the parish as an institution in early modern Italy.

These local studies can be used as tools for historians seeking evidence for broad cultural trends and phenomena. But a good local history can also be interesting in and of itself. These publications are unfortunately somewhat disappointing in this respect. To a large extent, blame for this rests in the motivation lying behind their production, which seems to have been primarily to celebrate nostalgically the glories of local history. Strangely enough, given the strong local focus, each of the confraternities is connected to a very wide historical context, but there is little sense of how these institutions interacted with one another within the local context. Although the differing memberships of each are mentioned, these distinctions are never employed as part of an analysis of how the confraternity acted either to control or empower these groups. This criticism aside, these well-documented studies enable the historian to test generalising hypotheses against a set of circumstances obtaining in an otherwise unknown and peripheral context. In addition to this, it should be noted that all of the books are lavishly and beautifully produced, with many illustrations, both in black and white and in colour.

Giles Knox
University of Toronto

Reviews

Bainbridge, Virginia R. *Gilds in the Medieval Countryside: Social and Religious Change in Cambridgeshire c.1350–1558*. Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, 10. Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 1996. 177 pp.

Virginia Bainbridge's *Gilds in the Medieval Countryside: Social and Religious Change in Cambridgeshire c. 1350–1558* is the latest and tenth volume in Boydell Press' *Studies in the History of Medieval Religion* series, edited by Christopher Harper-Bill. The series has addressed questions both large (e.g. *A Brotherhood of Canons Serving God: English Secular Cathedrals in the Later Middle Ages*, by David Lepine) and more modest (e.g. *William Wayneflete: Bishop and Educationalist*, by Virginia Davis) on the topic of the history of medieval religious experience. Bainbridge's book examines rural religious gilds and their function within medieval English society. The better-known urban religious gilds—fraternities, confraternities, *zunfte*, *ghilde*, or *arte*, depending on the language and region—have been more extensively researched. The country gilds, however, have been less well studied and Bainbridge sets out to remedy this lacuna in the scholarship.

Her task is not an easy one. The history of gild scholarship itself in the modern era is long and complicated. In her first chapter, "Ideology and Historiography: Modern Images of Medieval Gilds", Bainbridge describes how previous research approaches have affected perceptions of these religious organizations, both for good and ill. Her own viewpoint, in turn, has been influenced by the recent research of Susan Reynolds.¹ In addition, the gild records, or rather lack of records, pose other hazards. The records for rural gilds are fragmented and few; and the destruction of gild associations and their records in the early English Protestant period was often determined and complete. The paucity of records compels Bainbridge to examine a broad range of material in an attempt to fill in the gaps in a picture left incomplete by the loss of so many documents. She examines, for example, tax records, wills, bequest documents, and inventories, each affording a glimpse of some gild activity or property, along with the more usual gild statutes and records, where available. The result is pleasing in several ways. Dr. Bainbridge has presented an image of a world in transition: some people rejected new religiosities in the post-Henrican Reformation era, while others embraced the opportunity to benefit from the shifts in power and wealth. The rural gilds reflect these dichotomies in the social fabric; in some areas gilds and their properties were protected locally, usually by going underground, and in others they were quickly disbanded and their properties seized. Perhaps the most

1 In particular Reynolds' book *Kingdoms and communities in Western Europe, 900–1300* (Oxford, 1984).

interesting element of Bainbridge's findings is the institutional, social, and economic alterations caused by the destruction of medieval religious guilds. She argues that the Reformation did not, as some suggest, wipe out or immediately and successfully suppress all English Catholic lay organizations, their places of worship, and their members. The change was more gradual, the decay slower and more complicated, tied to new economic interactions, administrative changes, and social realities initially ushered in by the dissolution of the monasteries. The image that Dr. Bainbridge presents is that of a religious society in transition and transformation with vestiges of the old clinging to the new, where English medieval Catholic devotional practices, charitable duties, and funerary activities undertaken by rural guild organizations, like their urban counterparts, were gradually abolished and replaced by new puritan ideologies.

Dr. Bainbridge's book will be a welcome addition to the study of religious guilds in England. My only complaint, and it is a small one, is that title somewhat misrepresents the book's contents. The main title, and this may be the publisher's and not the author's fault, is too broad. As is often the case, the subtitle is more useful: this is primarily a book about social and religious change in Cambridgeshire c. 1350–1558 and less about guilds in the medieval countryside generally. I would be pleased to see another series on this latter topic and several books examining rural guilds, if the records survive, in other areas of Europe.

Jennifer Forbes
University of Toronto

Casagrande, Giovanna. *Religiosità penitenziale e città al tempo dei comuni*. Rome: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 1995. 508 pp.

In this impressive work, Giovanna Casagrande maps the itinerary of the lay penitential movement from the eleventh century to the fifteenth. This includes the study of individual recluses of the eleventh century, who sought an alternative to both the secular life of the laity on the one hand and the religious orders on the other, through the tertiary movement associated with the mendicants, to the more explicitly lay confraternities of penitents. In many respects this is the history of how many lay people found a place for themselves in a Church that was increasingly defined in theological terms by a sharp distinction between laity and clergy.

In particular, Casagrande's work highlights the achievements of women penitents whose activities as recluses or as members of communities provided an alternative to either marriage or full membership in a religious order. The recluses of the eleventh and twelfth centuries who attempted to live according to the evangelical counsels largely removed themselves from the authority of fathers, husbands, or religious superiors. The movement to establish lay branches of the Franciscan movement was initially welcomed by such individuals in the thirteenth and fourteenth century as a means to express desires that were consonant with the spirituality and apostolate of Francis of Assisi. Nevertheless, the increasing institutionalization of the Third Orders, both communal groups and those who lived at home, transformed the groups into quasi-religious orders, congregations of nuns and brothers. The

success of the Third Orders therefore undermined the original independence of the lay movement of penitence. It is in this context that Casagrande highlights the origins “from below” of the flagellant movement. It sought to maintain the lay independence of the penitents while still offering a means to engage in pious works for the reform of society. It is these that she refers to as the “*veri laici*.” The clergy supported these groups but they did not direct them.

Throughout the volume Casagrande manifests her special expertise in the religious life of Umbria in general and Perugia in particular. This provides both the greatest strength of the work and its limits. The author’s description and analysis of the origin and growth of recluses, tertiaries, and *disciplinati* is both rich and insightful. However, since the examples are limited to central Italy one is left wondering what the experience of penitents was elsewhere. This, however, would require further research and local studies. Casagrande has shown the way.

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Ditchfield, Simon. *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy. Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. xv, 397 pp.

Simon Ditchfield offers in this book a fascinating study of the relationship between late Renaissance historiography, the cult of the saints in the Counter-Reformation, and the reform of liturgy. The result of this relationship is stated in the subtitle: “the preservation of the particular.” Ditchfield differs with those historians who see the papal curia and local dioceses locked in a struggle over the shape of reform in which Rome is viewed as the centre and the local churches as the periphery. Ditchfield argues that it is “preferable to see the Tridentine reformation less in terms of centre versus periphery, than as an attempt to particularize the universal... and to universalize the particular.” (p. 10) The relationship between Rome and the local dioceses of Italy, he argues, was one characterized by cooperation in the regularization of liturgical practice. It was not, Ditchfield holds, one in which Rome imposed a standardized liturgy on the rest of the Church. Rome acknowledged local custom when it conformed to acceptable standards of scholarship.

Ditchfield’s specific research examines the work of Church historians in the age of Cesare Baronio. He studies how Baronio and his followers in Rome relied upon the local researches of historians such as Piacenza’s Pietro Maria Campi in order to adequately reform the calendar of the saints for the new Roman breviary, the missal, and the propers for local saint’s feasts that would be included in local editions of the breviary and missal. This cooperation led to more historically credible accounts of the lives of the saints and preserved, as much as possible, local hagiographical and liturgical traditions. This hagiographical endeavor is presented in the light of late Renaissance historiography. These historians possessed the same historical consciousness that informed the pioneering work of Lorenzo Valla more than a century earlier. The result was “a textually chaste liturgy which would excite the reader to devotion not ridicule.” (p. 67)

Ditchfield does not address in any detail the consequences of this reform of liturgical texts for the activities of confraternities. The effect of the new liturgical books would have been quite significant, however. In one instance Ditchfield does indicate that the reforms would have altered the liturgical practice of lay confraternities. He mentions the example of Bologna where Archbishop Gabriele Paleotti sought a revised edition of the office for the feast of Bologna's patron, San Petronio. An anonymous manuscript in the Vatican Library related to this effort includes the observations that the office must be corrected, as there were many versions of the office used by confraternities that had been published by the authority of the priors of the confraternities who, as the Vatican document indicates, "were goldsmiths, tailors, carpenters, or similar...hence the presence of errors in these offices...written under the authority of private and unqualified people."(p. 65) Not surprisingly, therefore, clerical supervision of confraternities in the Tridentine period extended to this editorial review of their liturgical books. Ditchfield's work will be welcomed by the student of confraternities as well as by any who seek a better understanding of the nature of Catholicism and its relationship to the culture of the late Renaissance.

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Fineschi, Filippo. *Cristo e Giuda. Rituali di giustizia a Firenze in età moderna*. (Firenze: Alberto Bruschi, 1995). 252 pp., illustrations.

Much research has been done regarding the notion of public execution as ceremonial rite and public display, especially in early modern Britain, but Filippo Fineschi is one of the first to examine this subject in the context of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Florence. The very title *Cristo e Giuda* reveals the conflicting Florentine view of those condemned to death. On the one hand, the condemned is paraded through the city to the gallows outside the city walls in an elaborate ceremony designed to evoke a parallel between the condemned and Christ, but at the same time he is also a Judas, who has betrayed Florence by means of a criminal act. It is the exploration of this dual nature which is the thrust of Fineschi's work.

The author organizes his work into three main parts: the imagery and ceremonies surrounding the execution such as the public procession (or *gita*), the participants, and the execution itself. Public execution in Florence, like anywhere else, was designed as a strict moral lesson to others as well as the ultimate punishment for the condemned. The crowd which inevitably gathered to witness the execution had a major role in the event as well, and Fineschi uses many vivid examples of the brutality of the masses toward the condemned. Fineschi also explores the complex position of the executioner, who was required for his contribution to civic order yet universally shunned due to his distasteful occupation.

The main point of interest for historians of confraternities is the author's discussion of the confraternity of Neri, which had the main task of comforting the condemned before the execution and caring for the corpse afterwards. Members of the Neri would spend the night before the execution with the condemned in the chapel of the Bargello, accompany him on the procession which would halt for mass at the

Neri church, Santa Maria della Croce al Tempio, and then continue to offer comfort until he reached the scaffold. Fineschi has meticulously examined the documents of the confraternity of Neri and gives a clear account of its significant and varied role in public execution in Florence.

Maps and illustrations enrich this work considerably, most notably the map illustrating the procession of the condemned through Florence to the gallows outside the city walls (p. 45). There is also a comprehensive bibliography of both printed and manuscript sources, all of which reflect the author's exhaustive research in Florentine archives and libraries.

Fineschi has written an engaging and well-researched book which is of interest to criminologists and social historians as well as to confraternity and Renaissance scholars. The only weakness perhaps is the relatively minimal comparison the author makes between Florence and other major contemporary European urban centres; in spite of this mild criticism, Fineschi has made a significant and thoughtful contribution to Florentine social and confraternity history.

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Genova: il sestiere di Portoria. Una storia della città. Exhibition catalogue. Biblioteca Franzoniana, 27 Nov. – 19 Dec. 1996. Genova: Comune di Genova / Biblioteca Franzoniana, 1996. 94 pp.

This volume was originally published as the catalogue to an historical exhibit devoted to the district of Portoria in Genoa. From late antiquity until the urban redevelopment of this century, Portoria was the site of a rich popular culture nurtured by the craftsmen and merchants that flourished in the area. The fifty entries included in the catalogue describe frescoes, sculptures, oil paintings, reliquaries, engravings, woodcuts, and a variety of devotional and liturgical objects dating from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries. These entries are grouped thematically into nine sections, each prefaced by an introductory essay.

Piera Melli's essay on the archaeological finds made in the area in the last 30 years (section 1) provides a vivid historical overview of the district from the fifth century BC, when Genoa was already a commercial emporium and an important sea-port, to the sixteenth century. Cassiano da Langasco relates the history of two important local institutions, the civic hospital of Santa Maria di Misericordia di Pammatone, founded in 1423 (section 2), and the Church of the Santissima Annunziata, which holds the shrine of Saint Caterina Fieschi Adorno (d. 1510), a Genoese mystic (section 5). The variegated activity of craftsmen in the quarter, in particular weavers and dyers, is discussed in section 3 by Francesca Fabbri, and in section 4, P. G. Piana examines the military presence in Portoria from the Renaissance to the Risorgimento. Piero Gambacciani and Claudio Paolucci trace the architectural vicissitudes of the archiepiscopal seminary, founded in 1574 and currently the site of the Biblioteca Franzoniana (section 6). In section 8 Ennio Poleggi gives a detailed topographical description of Portoria since the Renaissance and describes the gradual

disappearance of many of its historical buildings in the wake of the urban renewal projects carried out during the course of this century; he also explains that the term *sestiere* derives from Genoa's reorganization in the 1630s into six main districts. Paolocci, the exhibit organizer and editor of the catalogue, closes the volume with an account of the career of Paolo Gerolamo Franzoni, the Genoese abbot and educational reformer who in 1749 founded the first public library in Genoa; the Franzoniana, presently under the direction of Paolocci himself, continues to serve the city as a research centre and a facility for public exhibits.

Historians of confraternities will be interested in Fausta Franchini Guelfi's essay on Portoria's *casacce* (section 7). An institution whose roots can be traced back to the thirteenth century, the *casaccia* was an association of a number of lay confraternities that joined together to build and administer a common oratory, separate from the churches or convents where the individual confraternities had been born. The *casacce* attained their peak membership in the Settecento, when eleven of the twenty-one operating in Genoa were located in Portoria; each "house" consisted of between four and six confraternities, which were also called *compagnie* and were invariably affiliated to particular guilds. These institutions of popular devotion drew men and women from all social strata except aristocrats, who were limited to the role of patrons. As a result of their financial autonomy and the intense competition between them, the *casacce* became important supporters of local craftsmen and artists, and through their commissions contributed significantly to Genoa's rich cultural patrimony. Franchini Guelfi describes in detail the confraternal procession held annually on Holy Thursday, the key event in the life of the *casacce*; the catalogue entries describe several objects used in this procession, the most impressive being a wooden sculpture depicting the stigmatization of Saint Francis, carved in 1708-9 by Anton Maria Maragliano for the *casaccia* of San Francesco in Piccapietra.

The volume contains superb illustrations, several in colour, and an excellent bibliography. It provides a valuable introduction to the history of confraternities in Genoa, and to the role they played in the social and cultural life of the city.

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Santa Croce nel solco della storia. Ed. Massimiliano G. Rosito. Firenze: Edizioni Città di Vita, 1996. 357 pp.

In the introduction to this study of the Franciscan church of Santa Croce in Florence, Massimiliano Rosito notes that although the art and architecture of the church have been studied extensively by scholars, the history of the development of the church itself as an institution and the various devotional groups which arose from within it has been neglected over the past century and a half (p. 11). The volume he presents, therefore, is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the institutional history of Santa Croce, and the second examining its art and architecture.

The articles which will primarily interest scholars of confraternities are found in the first section. Ippolita Morgese has studied the musical tradition of the church,

including that of the *laudesi* confraternities which made the church their base. She argues that with the development of *laudesi* confraternities the church enjoyed a period of heightened artistic and cultural activity (p. 117). She examines the various confraternities which met at Santa Croce, including La Compagnia della Vergine Maria delle Laudi and the confraternity of St. Bonaventure (p. 119). The article includes a transcription of the first chapter of the statutes (1495) of the Company of the Virgin, and some chapters from the statutes of St. Bonaventure (a manuscript found in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence), giving details of requirements for membership and norms for banquets, etc. (p. 121/122). Morgese notes that although the ideal was that confraternity members would sing the lauds themselves, from about 1365 on they seem to have relied more and more frequently on professional singers (p. 124).

Like Morgese, Arnaldo D'Addario provides some information about specific confraternities which met in Santa Croce. His article on the confraternities of Santa Croce and their social background, "Le Confraternite di Santa Croce nel Tessuto della Citta", seeks to demonstrate that confraternities helped Florentines move beyond daily concerns to focus on a higher set of principles. He suggests that charitable activity through these confraternities was the

first and most important moral duty which influenced citizens to move beyond the restrictions of clans, guilds, political associations, inviting them to discover the values of a life lived in a more meaningful community... (p. 137, reviewer's translation)

D'Addario emphasizes the importance of the study of the statutes of these organizations, as they demonstrate the extent of the activity of laypeople in the establishment of the confraternities and related charitable institutions such as hospitals (p. 138/139). He records the names of several confraternities which were tied to the church between the 13th and 16th centuries, and gives information about their establishment and their activities.

Finally, Ludovica Sebreghondi's article on the 1785 suppression of the confraternities of Santa Croce, "Il Calvario delle Soppressioni", describes the dispersal of the works of art belonging to these groups which occurred as a result of the suppression, and the "devastating" effects of their loss by the church.

Each article is furnished with an annotated bibliography providing suggestions for further reading, including archival information and references to 18th and 19th century texts on the history of the church.

As historians of confraternities seek to establish outside contexts—either social or ecclesiastical—for the activities of the institutions they study, they will turn more frequently to volumes such as this one, which provides a useful introduction to a specific institution and the confraternities which developed within it.

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Catherine Vincent, *Les confréries médiévales dans le royaume de France: XIIIe–XIVe siècle*. Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1994. 259 pp.

In this volume, Vincent surveys French confraternities during the last two centuries of the Middle Ages. Since studies of confraternities tend to be limited in both time and space, this work, scanning a wide area, should attract a large readership. The book is intended for the general reader as well as the specialist. It presents the first with a fascinating look at the inner workings of these quintessentially medieval organizations; the specialist historian looking for specific references, on the other hand, will be satisfied with the volume's abundant endnotes and detailed bibliography. Further, an extremely handy reference section, at the end of the volume, lists confraternities by city and adds the relevant bibliographical resources for each organization.

Vincent opens her work by exploring the reasons for the popularity of confraternities during the late Middle Ages. In her view, their success sprang from two areas: their ties to what she labels "traditional forms of Christian piety", and their own specific qualities. The latter comprises their membership enrolment, and the role confraternities played in teaching their members the appropriate social and religious practices. In order to lead her reader through her arguments, Vincent creates a generic confraternal model (*un schéma-type*) which allows her to develop her premises.

She turns first to what she perceives to be the high point of the confraternal calendar, the annual meeting. Her description of this event covers the many signs of recognition used by members to identify each other inside and outside the group (costumes, for example); the religious activities of the group (confraternal communion and banquet); and the ceremonies which gave cohesion to the group (the general assembly, public lecture of the statutes, sermons, and literary games or theatrical productions if applicable).

She then dwells on the origins of confraternities. Vincent finds the birth of confraternities in the prevalent medieval need to form social groups. For the author, the solitary man had no place in medieval society. In France, associations formed around devotion to a particular cult, saint or Christian mystery, around the construction of a church or chapel, in defense of communal interests, or around political, professional or national motivations. The author rightly sounds a note of caution regarding the largely accepted view that medieval confraternities existed mainly in urban areas throughout the West. It may be that limited documentation for rural areas has given rise to this view. The conclusion of the chapter deals with the longevity of these associations, and thus their usefulness, and leads on to the focus of her next chapter: identification of the social need or void filled by the confraternities.

The author notes that confraternities evolved at a time when families were in difficulties. Did the population decline and dislocation that resulted from the calamities (plague, war and famine) of the "waning Middle Ages" create a void which was then filled by confraternal associations? Not in the opinion of this author. Vincent systematically deconstructs this hypothesis by showing that the foundation of most confraternities had little to do with the plague. Furthermore, the confraternal rejection

of the most isolated individuals—single women and the poor, the ones most affected by receding economic conditions and the breaking of familial ties—enhances her point. The confraternities were composed of members already well established within familial structures. This point leads the author to conclude that confraternities did not replace lineage and alliances but, on the contrary, extended them. Confraternities enlarged the circle of solidarities available to their members.

In her search for patterns possibly duplicated by confraternities, Vincent looks at the other medieval model of family, that of the church, and its impact on confraternities. The author first assesses the role that the evangelical model played for the lay population as a whole. Then, she concentrates on the specific effect on confraternities: mainly the development of confraternal charitable works (the six works of mercy and the care of the dead), aimed mostly at their own members and the deserving poor. However, many confraternities also delved into the care of the soul. Many associations centred most of their activities around the development of a rich liturgical life. The dignity and glamour of their cult enhanced the prestige of a brotherhood. Vincent surveys the many forms of intercession used by confraternities and the emergence of the concept of Purgatory.

Vincent then moves to the private motivations of confraternal members. For the author, the decision to enter a confraternity reveals a conscious effort by each individual to handle his or her own salvation. This individualization of religious practice matched the growing internalization of religious life of the late medieval period. Joining a confraternity offered to the many the permanency of personal memory, in this world and beyond, which had been previously reserved only for the few.

After looking at confraternities from the point of view of the individuals who joined them, the author uses the last third of her volume to review the role of confraternities as a whole. First, confraternities educated their members. Confraternities enforced peaceful relations within the group and controlled the religious, moral and social behaviour of their members. It was understood that the prestige of any association and the effectiveness of its intercessory function depended on the good morality of its adherents. It logically follows that many associations screened their membership and excluded any members liable to stain the group's reputation. Thus, those leading a "bad" life, usurers, excommunicated individuals, and, as we progress into the modern period, women, either never gained access to or lost their places within these associations. Secondly, many confraternities held public functions.

The confraternities' forms of government trained their members in the intricacies of associative life. They also furnished training grounds for future leaders. But, most of all, confraternities offered an easily accessible financial resource in case of communal needs. Vincent uses this chapter to identify the social topology of these groups. In medieval France *gens de metiers*, primarily the middle class, joined confraternities. This topology allows Vincent to show the role that these associations played in the social cohesiveness of any commune or city.

Finally, the author examines more closely the relationship between confraternities and the public authorities, in particular the wariness of the latter toward these

associations. However, even if authorities sometimes feared confraternities, they could never suppress them. Thus the authorities chose control. Vincent admits that, during the Middle Ages in France, public authorities could only loosely constrain them. Civil authorities generally delegated their power over the societies to the church. This leads Vincent to her final point: the primacy of the parish in French towns. Noting the mendicant orders' lesser influence on the foundation of French confraternities, she places confraternities firmly in the shade of the parochial structure.

The author concludes with what she perceives as the duality and paradox of the confraternity. First, the associations exhibited a collective structure which presented signs of affirmed individuality. Secondly, confraternities attested to the internalization and privatization of religious life within a collective structure. Refuting, in passing, the work of Jacques Chiffolleau,¹ she states "Il n'est pas jusqu'à la place que les confréries ne cessent d'accorder de plus en plus massivement à la vie liturgique—un comportement trop rapidement fustigé comme purement comptable—qui ne fasse écho aux entreprises des évêques les plus soucieux de pastorales" (p. 188).² She leaves us with the impression that over the centuries confraternities had been the creation of a few conscientious bishops.

By considering confraternities as a complement to and reinforcement of the existing ecclesiastical structures she contradicts her previous conclusions (chapters Two and Six). In short, she does not believe that confraternities were created because their founders perceived a void in religious leadership.

The author's generalizations on the sociology of the associations (pp. 160–161, the primacy of the middle class for example; or p. 179, the invisibility of the mendicant orders in the association's foundations) may surprise a few readers, especially because the author does not include in her text the various statistical data required to make such assertions.

Still Vincent draws on a wide range of authorities. She offers many contextual references which are most useful to her "specialized" readers. Besides Italian and Spanish references, her bibliography includes many Anglo-Saxon authors. However, one must point out a shortcoming: the work is primarily narrative and descriptive, and avoids historiographical debate (e.g., the question of ritual behaviour in religious brotherhood). This may explain why some important authors, for example Weissman or Trexler,³ are missing from her bibliography. Her book will be of interest both to

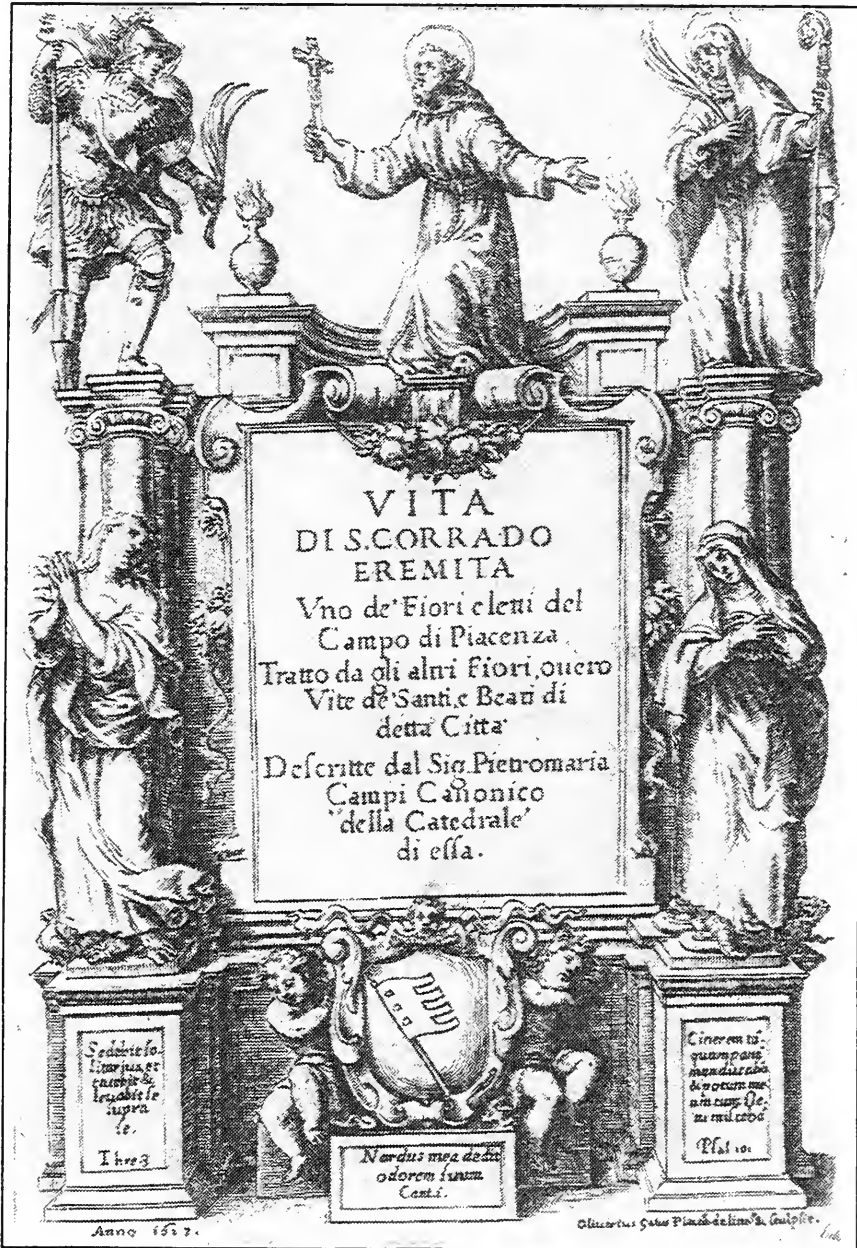
1 In this case, I assume that she is referring to Jacques Chiffolleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà. Les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Age* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1980).

2 "The growing role that confraternities grant, more and more massively, to liturgical life—a behaviour too quickly denounced as purely numerical—echoes the undertakings of the bishops the most concerned with pastoral life" (reviewer's translation).

3 Ronald F.E. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1982); Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1980).

the general public and to students of history as an introduction to confraternities studies.⁴ Interested specialists will also find many points of reference for comparison and/or argument.

Joëlle Rollo-Koster



Frontispiece to P. M. Campi, *Vita di S. Corrado eremita* from Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History of Tridentine Italy*, p. 149.

4 To complete a quick survey of French confraternities see Noël Coulet, "Le mouvement confraternel en Provence et dans le Comptat Venaissin au Moyen Age", in *Le mouvement confraternel au Moyen Age. France, Italie, Suisse* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1987), 83–110.

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Confraternitas

Volume 8, No. 2, Fall 1997

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The Virgin and Saint Cecilia: Music and the Confraternal *Puys* of Rouen

DYLAN REID

Music played a significant role in the confraternal culture of Rouen, in particular as part of the *puys*, the confraternal contests which were common in north-western France.¹ The most famous such *puy* in Rouen was the poetry contest held every year, beginning in 1486, by the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. On the first Sunday after the Feast of the Immaculate Conception (8 December), poems in praise of the Virgin were read to the assembled audience in the confraternity's chapel, and prizes were awarded for the best ones.²

The musical influence in this contest began with the fact that the types of poems that were required—the *chant royale*, *ballade* and *rondeau*—were based on musical forms, and the poets often described themselves as singing (*chanter*) the praises of the Virgin. The musical influence assumed a more concrete form in the plays in honour of the Virgin performed after the confraternity's post-contest banquet. Three of these plays survive, and music plays a significant role in two of them. In Guillaume Tasserie's *Le triomphe des Normands*, probably performed in 1499, there are two musical interludes that include both instrumental and sung music. They are strategically placed: one occurs just before the entrance of the villain, the other is part of the conclusion to the play. Both interludes celebrate the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. As well, the presence of singers and minstrels emphasizes the splendour of the court of the hero, Duke William the Conqueror of Normandy.³ In 1544, the play performed after the banquet was called a *chorale* and was made up of sung sections alternating with dialogue, all in praise of the Virgin.⁴ Even in the surviving play that does not have a musical section, musical imagery is used to describe the Virgin. She says:

Mais j'ay chanté par temperence,
Avec Dieu accordant mon son,
Que j'ay sans quelque dissonance
L'homme et Dieu mis en unisson.⁵

1 See Gérard Gros, *Le poète, la Vierge et le Prince du puy: études sur les puys marials de la France du Nord du XIVe siècle à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1992).

2 For details about the confraternity, see Dylan Reid, "Moderate Devotion, Mediocre Poetry and Magnificent Food: The Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception of Rouen", *Confraternitas* 7.1 (1996): 3–10.

3 Guillaume Tasserie, *Le triomphe des Normands, suivi de La dame à l'agneau par G. Thibault*, ed. Paul le Verdier (Rouen, 1908), pp. 9, 70.

4 Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen (BMR) MS. Y 17 (*Recueil* of 1544 *Puy*), *Chorale qui fut soné[?] en la feste de la conception aud[ict] Rouen ... Ou sont introduicts dix personnages cest assavoir Sapience divine Ignorance La Vierge et les sept arts liberaulx*.

5 Guillaume Thibault, *La dame à l'agneau*, in Tasserie, *Triomphe des Normands*, p. 91.

The purpose of the music in the *puy* was not solely to praise the Virgin. It was also a means of enhancing the magnificence of the event, and, by consequence, underlining the importance of the sponsor of the event, the head of the confraternity for that year, who was called the “Prince”.⁶ The Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception was one of the most prestigious in the city, and its Princes were men of wealth and status. Their sponsorship of the *puy* was a way of enhancing this status. Hiring musicians to sing as part of a play furthered this goal by adding to the lustre of the event. This lustre was also enhanced by hiring trumpets to announce the previous and present winners of the poetry contest, and otherwise punctuate important moments during the day. Trumpets were thought to add flair and spectacle to the event, so much so that when the confraternity revised its statutes in 1614, the provision of trumpets was specifically included as part of the Prince’s duties.⁷ When in 1636 a dour Prince refused to pay for the trumpets, his parsimony provoked bitter complaints from the audience.⁸ Finally, Princes who wished to organize a memorable event made sure they included music during the banquet. In 1546, there was music before each of the three courses: first flutes, then trumpets, clarions and flutes, and finally singers accompanied by lyres.⁹ In the *puy* of the Immaculate Conception, the purpose of music ranged from the noble aim of praising the Virgin to the more venal one of conspicuous consumption.

In the sixteenth century, music moved from being an adornment of a *puy* to acquiring a *puy* of its own. The Confraternity of Saint Cecilia, in existence from at least the early sixteenth century, was the pious association that served the musicians of Rouen. Sometime in the middle of the century, inspired by the example of the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception, the members of the Confraternity of Saint Cecilia established a *puy* of their own, dedicated to music.¹⁰ It followed the model of the older, poetic *puy*.

The *puy* of Saint Cecilia was also a public contest held once a year (on the Sunday after the feast of Saint Cecilia, 22 November), and presided over by the confraternity’s Prince. Prizes were awarded for specific forms: a French *chanson* and a Latin *motet*. As with the poetic *puy*, posters were used to advertise the contest in

6 Princes were selected by their seniority as members of the confraternity.

7 *Le puy de la conception de Notre Dame, fondé au couvent des Carmes à Rouen. Son origine, erection, statuts & confirmation* [Rouen, 1614], pp. 42, 58.

8 David Ferrand, *La muse normande* II, ed. A. Héron (Rouen, 1891), p. 120.

9 Baptiste Le Chandelier, *La parthénie, ou banquet des palinods de Rouen en 1546*, ed. F. Bouquet (Rouen, 1883), pp. 4, 9, 17 and notes 58, 59, 103, 104, 159.

10 Although the first evidence is from the registers of the cathedral chapter, Nov. 25, 1565 (Archives Départementales de la Seine-Maritime (ADSM), *Inventaire-Sommaire des Archives Départementales, Serie G II: Registres du Chapitre (I-S reg. chap.)*, 267), it appears that the *puy* was already well-established by that time. Its establishment in the mid-century was part of a broader trend: Rouen in the middle of the sixteenth century experienced a period of cultural efflorescence, in which at least three other *puy*s, all poetic, were also established. See Dylan Reid, *Literary aspects of Urban Culture in Rouen, c.1500–c.1640* (M.Litt, University of Oxford, 1995), chapter 4, pp. 168–199.

Rouen and in neighbouring cities, and entries were received from all over France.¹¹ The competition was followed by a banquet, which is probably where songs of a less elevated tone were sung—in 1565, the Cathedral chapter intervened to forbid the Cathedral's choirboys from singing “chansons dissolutes, comme celles qui furent ... chantés au puy de Sainte-Cécile”.¹² This change in tone at the *puy* of Saint Cecilia again followed the model of the poetic *puy* of the Immaculate Conception, which held a contest of ribald love poetry during its banquet.

The Confraternity of Saint Cecilia was based in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, and made full use of the cathedral's considerable musical and other resources. The *puy* was held in the Cathedral itself, on a temporary stage decorated with a tapestry, carpets and paintings of the saint. The *maître de la chapelle*, the cathedral's full-time music master, received and took care of the musical submissions as they arrived.¹³ On the day of the contest, the music was performed by the cathedral choir and professional musicians under his direction. Rouen's *maîtrise* (music mastership) and the choir school the master directed were famous throughout France.¹⁴ The mastership was held by well-known musicians and composers, notably François Dulot (1522–1530) and Guillaume Leroy (1530–1536), whose compositions were published at the time, and still survive.¹⁵ Often, visiting royalty and aristocrats asked to be given one or two choirboys for their own chapel choirs.¹⁶ The choir's singing was enhanced by the music of the cathedral's organ, one of the largest in France. The post of organist was also held by a series of very distinguished musicians, including Nicolas Dulot, brother the *maitre de chapelle* François Dulot, and Jean Titelouze (1588–1633), a widely known composer and writer about music.¹⁷ Given these

11 ADSM G 9840, *passim*. This is a register of the confraternity's accounts from 1623 to 1631, drawn up in 1631.

12 *I-S Reg. chap.*, 267 (25 Nov. 1565).

13 ADSM G 9840, ff. 12r.-13v.

14 See A. Collette & A. Bourdon, *Histoire de la maîtrise de Rouen* (reprint: Geneva, 1972).

15 Collette, *Histoire de la maîtrise*, pp. 35, 43, 56, 115. The choir school also took the trouble to hire distinguished grammar masters for the non-musical education of their students. These included Guillaume Thibault, who wrote one of the plays quoted above (*La dame à l'agneau*), and Guillaume Haudent, who published several books, including a translation of Aesop.

16 These included the Admiral Annebault, the Queen of Scotland, and the Duc d'Orleans (*I-S Reg. chap.* pp. 253–257) as well as King Henri II himself (261). The Duc d'Orleans “voulait se former une chappelle de musique” around the choirboys he received⁷ from Rouen.

17 Christian Goubault, “La musique à Rouen du VIII^e siècle à nos jours”, *Revue Internationale de Musique Française* 4 (1981), pp. 84–85. Titelouze wrote two books, *Hymnes de l'église pour toucher sur l'orgue avec les fugues et recherches sur leur plain-chant* (1623) and *Magnificat ou Cantique de la Vierge pour toucher sur l'orgue suivant les huit tons de l'Eglise* (1626). He also wrote poetry for the *puy* of the Immaculate Conception. His most interesting poem (in praise of the Virgin, of course) is inspired by his work as an organist; it uses the refrain “D'un sourd metal une grande harmonie” (Joseph-André Guiot, *Les trois siècles palinodiques: histoire générale des palinods de Rouen*, ed. Abbé Tougard (Rouen, 1898), pp. 267ff.)

resources, the contestants' music must have received very good treatment, and the contest must have been a remarkable musical event for the city.

The Confraternity of Saint Cecilia was dominated by clerics, and its members were as distinguished as those of the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception. In the 1620s, its members included the Archbishop and the suffragan Bishop, most of the officers of the cathedral chapter and many of the canons (including the organist), at least one president of a sovereign court, and several magistrates, lawyers and clerics.¹⁸ Members had to be affluent in order to bear the considerable expense of the banquet. In this regard, the *puy* of Saint Cecilia suffered similar problems to the *puy* of the Immaculate Conception. To show off his prestige and status, each Prince spent more on the decorations, prizes and banquet than the previous Prince. The race to excel one's predecessors became so ruinous that at times a Prince would refuse to pay anything at all.¹⁹

The confraternity of Saint Cecilia first encountered this problem in 1574. The Prince, Guerard, *curé* of Tournetot, refused to pay for anything other than the mass, claiming that the rest of the expenses were "chose inutile" and that he could not support such "extreme despence". As the date of the *puy* approached, the past Princes of the confraternity launched a lawsuit to force him to pay the other costs, including the banquet.²⁰ Their lawyer, De Bretignières, pointed out that Guerard had enrolled in the confraternity voluntarily and had happily eaten at earlier banquets. The representative of the *procureur général du Roi*, Bigot, then made an intervention in which he paraded his considerable erudition. He began by saying that the Greeks had had similar associations for the encouragement of learning, that music had been prized throughout history, and that it was considered valuable to the Church. Since the confraternity's purpose was to encourage musicians to serve the Church, he continued, it should be respected; and therefore, he concluded, Guerard should be made to pay not only for the mass, but also the for prizes and other expenses incurred in holding the contest. The banquet, however, could be left to Guerard's discretion. The confraternity's lawyer, De Bretignières, in an attempt to extract the banquet expenses as well, used a musical metaphor: "la musique est composee d'harmonie et ... celui qui discorde est ennemy". He added that it was necessary that the "estrangers qui apportent motets chansons et compositions" be properly received. This attempt to get the banquet included failed, though the confraternity did win the rest of the case. The Parlement ordered Guerard to pay not only for the mass but also for the prizes and other expenses of the contest.²¹

In 1601, the Confraternity of Saint Cecilia tried to get around this problem by stating in their new statutes that any Prince who did not want to organize the contest

18 ADSM G 9840, *passim*.

19 The Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception encountered this problem as well. See Reid, "Moderate Devotion", p. 9.

20 The past Princes formed the governing committee of the confraternity, an arrangement similar to that of the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception.

21 BMR MS. Y 214(3), 306, Registres secrets du Parlement, 17 Nov. 1574.

and banquet could discharge himself from these duties by paying 200 *livres*.²² Princes often took advantage of this rule, and some even offered 300 *livres*, suggesting it was the work rather than the expense that they wished to avoid. This arrangement did not, however, resolve all problems. In 1628, the designated Prince was too poor to meet the expenses required, and the confraternity was obliged to cover the costs out of its own funds instead. In 1629, a much more scandalous situation arose. The Archbishop, whose turn it was to be Prince, refused either to arrange the *puy* or pay the 200 *livres*. The past Princes obviously judged it impolitic to sue the Archbishop, although given the precedents they would probably have won. Instead, “pour eviter au scandale public”, they restricted themselves to holding only the mass that year.²³

Despite these problems, the confraternity was in a very healthy financial state at this time. The year’s expenses were generally less than the 200 *livres* it received, and generous donors had in addition established *rentes* (annuities) on their behalf. In 1631, it had 1244 *livres* of reserves.²⁴ There may have been a brief interruption of the yearly contest in 1646,²⁵ but the *puy* of Saint Cecilia quickly recovered, and even established a new prize in 1666. The confraternity continued to hold its music contest up to the early eighteenth century.²⁶

For two centuries, the *puys* of the confraternities of the Immaculate Conception and especially of Saint Cecilia served as patrons of music in Rouen. They provided many benefits for many people: prestige for the Princes; praise for the Virgin; employment for the city’s musicians; an outlet for the talents of local and out-of-town composers; and, finally, fine music for the Church and the citizens of Rouen.

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22 ADSM G 9840, f. 10r–v. The same solution was tried by the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception.

23 ADSM G 9840, ff. 24r–30v.

24 ADSM G 9840, f. 38r–v.

25 The local poet David Ferrand wrote a poem regretting the demise of the *puy* of Saint Cecilia in 1546 (Ferrand, *Muse normand* III, p. 57). Soon after this, the older *puy* of the Immaculate Conception ceased to function, at least partially because no-one was willing to pay for the contest and banquet anymore (see Reid, *Urban Culture in Rouen*, p. 245).

26 ADSM G 3567 (various pieces relating to the Confrérie Ste.-Cécile).



Hartmut von Cronberg's *Statutes of the Heavenly Confraternity*. A Perspective from the Early Reformation

VICTOR D. THIESSEN

In his 1520 *Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, Martin Luther called upon secular authorities to reform a number of ecclesiastical institutions and implied that some institutions could be abolished outright. *Bruderschaften* (confraternities) were included in this list. In a brief comment Luther observed that confraternities distributed indulgences, masses, and good works, elements of contemporary religious practice for which he had little use. Luther allowed that confraternities that truly served the poor and needy should be maintained, but he believed that such confraternities were no longer to be found. Instead, he believed that by and large confraternities no longer served the common good, and merely sponsored banquets and heavy drinking. Playing with the word *Bruderschaft*, Luther emphasized the aspect of “fellowship,” claiming that all baptized members of the church had fellowship with Christ, the angels and saints in heaven, and all believers on earth; thus, the confraternity of the church was the only necessary fellowship that a true Christian needed. In his 1520 open letter *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation*, Luther wrote:

“I am speaking also of brotherhoods in which indulgences, masses, and good works are apportioned. My dear friend, in your baptism you have entered into a brotherhood with Christ, with all the angels, with the saints, and with all Christians on earth. Hold fast to them and live up to their demands for you have enough brotherhoods. Let the others glitter as they will. Compared with the true brotherhood in Christ those brotherhoods are like a penny compared with a gulden. But if there were a brotherhood which raised money to feed the poor or to help the needy, that would be a good idea. It would find its indulgences and its merits in heaven. But today nothing comes of these groups except gluttony and drunkenness.”¹

1 This English translation is drawn, with slight corrections, from *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation in Luther's Works* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966, vol. 44, p. 193). The original reads: “Ich rede auch von den bruderschafftten, darynnen man ablaß, Meß, und gutte werck außteyllet. Lieber du hast in der tauff ein bruderschafft mit Christo, allen engeln, heyiligen und Christen auff erden angefangen, halt die selben unnd thu yhr gnug, ßo hastu gnug bruderschafftten, laß die andern gleyssen wie sie wellen, so sein sie gleich wie zal pfennig gegen die gulden. Wo aber ein solche were, die gelt zusammen gebe, arme leut zuspeyen oder sonst yemand zuhelffen, die were gut, unnd het yhr ablas und verdinst ym hymel. Aber itzt seinn es Collation unnd seufferey drauß wordenn.” (Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke, kritische Gesamtausgabe* (henceforth WA), Weimar, 1883–1983, vol. 6, pp. 452–453). Luther had already criticized confraternities in his 1519 *Sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sakrament des heiligen wahren Leichnams*

Hartmut von Cronberg was one of the earliest and most outspoken of the lesser noble converts to evangelical ideas. Shortly after the diet of Worms in 1521 he began publishing pamphlets in support of reform.² Along with Ulrich von Hutten he introduced evangelical ideas to his cousin Franz von Sickingen and convinced him to undertake reforms to his parish churches. Though Cronberg was not actively involved in Sickingen's ill-fated Trier feud of 1522/23, Sickingen's enemies attacked Cronberg's lands and drove him into exile. Cronberg had begun to reform the churches in his lands shortly before he was forced to leave.

Early in 1522, Cronberg started to revise his concept of confraternities according to his understanding of ecclesiastical reform. At the end of May 1522, he sent his ideas and reform plans to Luther and to some noble friends in Saxony. He included a text entitled *Statutes of the Heavenly (Cronbergian) Confraternity* that he may have been preparing for publication. Eduard Kück suggested that the idea for this text probably stemmed from Luther's criticism of confraternities in his *Open Letter* of 1520.³

The text consists of nine (or ten) paragraphs,⁴ and broaches three general themes. The first three paragraphs outline the entry requirements of the *Bruderschaft*. Paragraphs four through seven discuss the aims and administrative aspects of the confraternity; the identification of, and care for the needy; and the structures and offices implemented to administer the collection and distribution of funds. The last two paragraphs return to the theme of the first paragraphs, describing those who would not be allowed to enter into fellowship with people in the Heavenly Confraternity.

Cronberg began by rejecting the notion of membership fees as requirements for those who wished to belong to this confraternity. To join the Heavenly Confraternity was a matter of the heart; only those who had "faith and trust in Christ our Lord and Saviour" were thus eligible for membership. Furthermore, only God through his grace could admit people to this fellowship; the names of these people would be written immediately in the book of the blessed. These new members would have the privilege of fellowship with all other Christians living and with the elect in heaven, including Mary and all the saints. Like Luther, Cronberg identified true confraternity with the association of all Christians, alive and deceased. Going beyond Luther,

Christi und von den Bruderschaften (WA vol. 2, pp. 738–758).

2 For brief biographical sketches of Cronberg, see articles in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 17, pp. 189f., *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 3, 442ff. For more extensive treatments see: Wilhelm Bogler, *Hartmut von Kronberg: Ein Charakterstudie aus der Reformationszeit*, Bd. VI (Halle, 1897); Helmut Bode, *Hartmut XII, von Cronberg: Reichsritter der Reformationszeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1987); also the introduction to *Die Schriften Hartmuths von Cronberg*, ed. Eduard Kück (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1899).

3 *Ibid.* See also Bode, *Cronberg*, pp. 190–191.

4 I will refer to Kück's edition in *Schriften ... Cronberg*, ed. Kück, pp. 74–76 (see also the introduction, pp. xxvii–xxxi). Bode reproduces the text using a more modernized German than does Kück and divides the third paragraph of the text into two paragraphs, hence the variant numbering; see Bode, *Cronberg*, pp. 191–193.

Cronberg mentioned the requirements or “works” expected of those who belonged to the fellowship. These works were found in the Word of God; all members gladly heard the word and fulfilled all its commands, which were summed up in the law of love for one’s neighbour.

This law of love provided Cronberg with the opportunity to discuss more practical matters. It required Christians to care for those in need. But how were these people in need to be identified? Cronberg referred to many Christians who had given to the poor out of their Christian duty, but had been misled by “greedy rich beggars” to give to causes that God despised. As a result, “poor heirs and orphans and pious people were robbed of their inheritance,”⁵ a crime against true Christian love and a grievous sin before God.

For this reason Cronberg established a community chest to be administered by three solid members of the community appointed to these offices for one year.⁶ These men would collect all charitable offerings for the chest and administer them according to the advice of pious men of the community. Cronberg emphasized that people were not obliged to give to the chest except by their own consciences and common sense. The administrators were to ensure that people did not give gifts that would leave their heirs impoverished. Furthermore, the administrators of the chest would not accept contributions of interest, rents, or immovable property. Cronberg also declared that the common chest established in his lands did not wish to attract contributions from people of other communities. In his opinion, every community should establish a common chest within its own jurisdiction and organize the care of its own poor.

In the last two paragraphs, Cronberg turned again to the issue of membership. Only those who were acceptable to God would receive his grace and have their pleas answered by him. All others who were not members of this fellowship would have their hearts hardened, their eyes made blind, and their ears stopped. Cronberg asserted that only God’s grace could save those who diligently sought salvation. No human laws, personal ingenuity, or good works could help a soul gain membership in the Heavenly Confraternity; only those who depended on the rock of Christ could be saved.

In the short text Cronberg used the idea of the confraternity to bring together two different issues. First of all, he used the idea of the confraternity as a metaphor for the church. He transformed the entrance requirements of the fellowship from social and economic to theological terms. The duties and demands of the members also shifted from regular contributions and attendance requirements to general obedience to God’s word and the practice of piety according to the command to love one’s neighbour. Cronberg’s rejection of works, a central criticism of the established church by reform-oriented writers of the 1520s, was as much an attack on the practices and requirements of the church as it was on confraternities. The theologically oriented

5 *Schriften ... Cronberg*, ed. Kück, p. 75.

6 The role of the community chest as a replacement for the confraternity in certain Reformation contexts, as well as the broader use of the term *Bruderschaft* in the 1520s by various reforming movements, is summarized in the *Theologische Realenzyklopaedie (TRE)*, vol. 7, pp. 200–202.

passages of the text expanded upon Luther's statements in his open letter, albeit from Cronberg's perspective. They also brought attention to Cronberg's general understanding of Christian religion. At no point in these paragraphs was Cronberg interested in establishing a functioning confraternity.

Secondly, Cronberg worked toward practical ends. He planned to establish a common chest for the care of the poor within his community. One of the stated aims of many late medieval confraternities was to assist the poor and needy; clearly, Luther, Cronberg, and other sympathizers of reform movements in the early 1520s suspected that confraternities were not fulfilling this purpose. Cronberg's common chest constituted a communally-based alternative for poor relief. Similar efforts to organize poor relief were being developed in other German-speaking towns and cities as well. Not only Karlstadt's ill-fated Wittenberg reforms of early 1522, but similar projects in Altenburg, Nuremberg, Kitzingen, Strasbourg, Breslau, and Regensburg were begun between 1522 and 1523. Luther's own enthusiasm for such projects can be seen in his introduction to Leisnig's *Ordinance of the Common Chest* published in the summer of 1523.⁷

It appears that Hartmut von Cronberg had adopted Luther's critical position with respect to confraternities and expanded on the reformer's ideas. By using the image of the confraternity as a metaphor for the church, he undermined the confraternity as a special institution within Christendom. On the practical level, the creation of the common chest for poor relief subverted an important function of confraternities in early modern society. Though he claimed to be establishing a confraternity within his community, Cronberg appeared to be more interested in abolishing the need for confraternities on both spiritual and practical grounds.

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7 WA 12, 1–30. The Leisnig Ordinance goes well beyond Cronberg's *Statutes* in its detailed description of the chest's purposes. See especially p. 19, concerning the incomes of the confraternities.

Thesis Completed

Dylan Reid. *Literary Aspects of Urban Culture in Rouen, c.1500–c.1640*. M.Litt. thesis, University of Oxford, 1995.

In the century after 1450, the cities of France experienced a period of prosperity and autonomy, which led to the development of a thriving urban culture. In Rouen, one of France's largest cities, this urban culture was highly developed. This thesis examines Rouen's urban culture and places it in its historical context, with reference to the social, political and religious environment. In the process, the thesis addresses two important questions—the nature of the relationship between popular and high culture within the city, and the relationship between the provincial culture of Rouen and national cultural developments.

Before about 1530, Rouen's culture can be described as communal. All of the different forms of cultural activity shared the same basic mentality. With continuing prosperity and new cultural and technological developments, different aspects of Rouen's cultural life developed in different directions. Rouen's festive life developed into a thriving popular culture centred around the *Abbaye des Conards*, which was made up of artisans and merchants. Initially operating fairly freely, it developed a symbiotic relationship with Rouen's *Parlement* during the religious wars, before declining due to internal and external factors.

Rouen's high culture had been centred around the *confrérie de l'Immaculée Conception*, which, since the end of the fifteenth century, had held an annual contest of devout poetry. Although dominated by Rouen's elite, it had a wide appeal, and attracted poets of national reputation. While it remained traditional after 1530, some of its poets experimented with new styles on their own. Meanwhile, the influence of the Renaissance inspired a dynamic period of other cultural activity, which was reflected in royal entries and supported by the printing industry.

With the advent of the religious wars, this dynamic and innovative period ended. However, Rouen's elite embraced the basic lessons of classical education, and applied them to those cultural forms which suited their conservative mentality. When the wars ended, this blossomed once again into an active cultural life, well suited to the new social and religious situation.

This thesis includes a great deal of information of interest to scholars of confraternities. The introductory chapter looks at those confraternities which played a role in Rouen's festive life, and discusses how this role was integrated into Rouen's urban culture. The chapter discussing popular culture reveals that the carnival society of the *Abbaye des Conards* was itself a confraternity. The three chapters on high culture are centred around the *Confrérie de l'Immaculée Conception* and its poetry contest, and include a detailed discussion of the structure, history and poetry of this confraternity from its foundation in 1486 to its dissolution around 1650. Together, these chapters demonstrate the fundamental role of confraternities in the urban culture of an early modern city.

A copy of this thesis has been deposited into the Confraternities Collection at the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies in the University of Toronto.

News

The Society for Confraternity Studies now has its own **electronic discussion** group! The e-list has been set up by Lance Lazar (University of North Carolina) and it's very easy to join. Simply address a message to **listserv@unc.edu** and in your message say: **subscribe confrat xxx yyy** (where xxx and yyy are your name; for example, subscribe confrat Pat Smith). Do not include anything else (no subject, no signature, nothing!). In a few minutes you will receive confirmation that you are on the list and instructions on how to send message to everyone on the list. Join up, get your friends to join up, and let's communicate ... electronically!

Don't forget to visit the *Confraternitas* **web page** at:
<http://citd.scar.utoronto.ca/CRRS/Confraternitas/index.htm>

Having defended and then published her dissertation on *Gilds in the Medieval Countryside: Social and Religious Changes in Cambridgeshire, c. 1350–1558* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 1996), **Virginia R. Bainbridge** is now beginning a research project, tentatively titled *Prayer and Power*, that will examine three Bridgettine convents in relationship with the new ideas that were being advanced on the eve of the Reformation. She will, at the same time, maintain her interest in gilds.

This past 25–26 October in Atlanta, Georgia, there were two sessions on confraternities at the **1997 Sixteenth Century Studies Conference**. The first, entitled “Confraternities and Religious Orders in Early Modern Italy” consisted of two presentations: Lance Lazar (Univ. of North Carolina) spoke on “The first Jesuit confraternities in sixteenth-century Italy”, and Michael Maher (St. Louis Univ., Missouri) on “Jesuit and Marian sodalities in Rome.” In the second session, “Confraternities and Public Welfare”, David Michael D’Andrea (Univ. of Virginia) spoke on “Confraternal management of charitable scholarships: Santa Maria dei Battuti of Treviso and scholars at the University of Padua”, Christopher Carlsmith (Univ. of Virginia), spoke on “*Ars bonarum litterarum amore dei*: education and charity in Bergamo, 1440–164”, and Timothy Fehler (Furman University) spoke on “Confraternal legacies in post-Reformation Emden.” The sessions were both very well attended, in spite of the dreadfully early hours in which they were scheduled on the Saturday and Sunday of the conference.

Next year the **1998 Sixteenth Century Studies Conference** will meet in Toronto on 22–25 October 1998, hosted by the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies. The Society will again sponsor and organize a number of sessions on confraternities. Presentations on the special topics of “Confraternities and Religious Orders” or “Confraternities and the Body” or “Confraternities and Court Society” are welcomed, as well as presentations on other topics. For further information, and to submit proposals, please contact Prof. Lance Lazar, Dept of Religious Studies, University of North Carolina, CB 3225, 1010 Saunders Hall, University of North Carolina,

Chapel Hill NC 27599-3225, USA; fax (919) 962-1567; email lazar@email.unc.edu.
Deadline for proposals: 28 February 1998.

On 7–10 May 1998, at the **33rd Annual Congress of Medieval Studies**, University of Western Michigan, Kalamazoo, there will be two sessions organized by Joëlle Rollo-Koster for the Society for Confraternity Studies. The first session is entitled “European confraternities: theatrics” and will include the following presentations: Thomas A. Pallen (Austin Peay State University) “Edifying and entertaining the Florentines: pageantry and theatrics sponsored by confraternities”; Konrad Eisenbichler (U of Toronto) “Violence in the theatre of Italian confraternities”; Susan Verdi Webster (U of St. Thomas) “Vested virgins: the clothing of confraternity sculptures in early modern Seville.” The second session is entitled “European confraternities: entertaining and socializing” and will include: Roisin Cossar (U of Toronto) “The inventories of the Misericordia Maggiore of Bergamo, 1272–1301”; and Andrzej Dabrowka (Uniwersytet Warszawski) “Confraternities as media in the process of civilization: western Europe and Poland.”

This past year *Confraternitas* received 12 books, 19 articles, 3 book reviews, and 11 issues of journals. They have now all been deposited into the **Confraternities Collection** at the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies (Toronto). This brings the collection up to 126 books, 269 articles, 23 reviews, 88 journal issues, 3 theses, and 1 CD, for a grand total of 434 items.

Reviews

Aranci, Gilberto. *Formazione religiosa e santità laicale a Firenze tra Cinque e Seicento: Ippolito Galantini fondatore della Congregazione di San Francesco della Dottrina Cristiana di Firenze (1565–1620)*. Florence: Giampiero Pagnini Editore, 1997. 509 pp.

If, as Gilberto Aranci suggests, the contributions of the Blessed Ippolito Galantini have been long forgotten by most modern Florentines, then at least, with the publication of this wonderfully expansive book, they will not be lost forever to scholars. Here, in a single volume, Aranci has not only recorded the life of the sixteenth-century lay preacher, but contextualized it in such a way as to present Galantini as an emblem of confraternal activity in the wake of Tridentine reform. As a result, Galantini's career as a teacher of Catholic doctrine is firmly entrenched not only in Counter-Reformation history, but in the corpus of scholarly inquiry into confraternities.

Aranci achieves this feat through a comprehensive and precise approach to his subject. His meticulous attention to detail, to sorting and cataloguing information, is evident not only in the organization of the chapters and subsections of the book, but in the work's efforts to analyze, categorize, and collate historical facts. The political, social, and religious events of sixteenth-century Italy, and of Florence in particular, are used as indicators of a subtle, yet significant transformation in the social organizations that characterize Florentine civic and religious life. It is not surprising then to find that, for Aranci, the life of Ippolito Galantini does not start with his birth in 1565, but rather well before that, in the "new Medicean state," in the reign of duke Cosimo I and the rule of Archbishop Antonio Altoviti. In order to understand how a humble weaver became an active member of several confraternities, a revered teacher, and a contributor to religious education, Aranci insists (quite rightly, it turns out) that we must first understand the various aspects of Florentine religious life, including Altoviti's pastoral rule and the role of the Jesuits in Florence. Each of these aspects is examined in depth by the author, who further subdivides the topics into specific issues and provides helpful headings for easy reference. Only then does Aranci move forward to examine the period into which Galantini was born, looking at its socio-economic unrest and at the effects of the Tridentine reforms. Here again the author is exceptionally detailed in his examination, starting with an overview of Tuscany under Grand-duke Francesco I (r. 1564–1587) and Grand-duke Ferdinando I (r. 1587–1609), moving on to discuss the pastoral rule of Archbishop Alessandro de' Medici (r. 1574–1605), and then passing to what may be, for confraternity scholars, one of the most useful portions of the volume—an examination of Florentine lay confraternities in the sixteenth century.

In this section on confraternities, Aranci notes a marked shift in the nature and number of these organizations from the earlier to the latter part of the century. He draws on Weissman and Eisenbichler to document the shift from the "fraternally"-focused (in the sense of social equality) lay societies of the Renaissance to the more

clergy-controlled, hierarchically-based and obedience-oriented organizations of Galantini's time. It is against this backdrop that Aranci proceeds to decipher the various sources leading to the decline of the Grand Duchy, focusing on socio-economic and cultural depression in Tuscany under Grand-duke Cosimo II (r. 1609–1621) and Archbishop Alessandro Marzi Medici (r. 1605–1630).

By the time Aranci arrives at his stated goal, examining the life and work of Ippolito Galantini, he has provided such an all-encompassing review of the various influences and organizations of the time that Galantini might seem little more than yet another sub-heading in a section of a chapter. Yet, Aranci's skill as a writer is such that he manages to rescue the man from the potentially obscuring enormity of his setting. Moreover, Aranci has managed to extract the essence of Galantini from the sources which document his life. Aranci has not only put together the pieces of a documentary jigsaw puzzle, but succeeded in erasing the cracks between them. What emerges is more than a mere composite; rather, it is a unified image of a teacher, a living, breathing educator whose hospitality and generosity during the 1591 famine are described in as much detail as the jealousy and envy directed against him as he rose in the esteem of church and secular leaders alike. Aranci's painstaking detail in terms of the function and workings of the religious teaching institutes of the period, not to mention the numerous appendices that he includes in this volume, will be indispensable to scholars of Florentine and Italian religious life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

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L'archivio della mensa arcivescovile di Firenze, ed. Gilberto Aranci. Pubblicazioni dell'Archivio Arcivescovile di Firenze, Inventari 1. Firenze: Pagnini Editore, 1996. 131 pp.

There is likely no one more qualified than Gilberto Aranci to produce an annotated inventory of the holdings of the *Archivio della Mensa Arcivescovile* (Archiepiscopal Treasury Archives) of Florence. As director of the city's Archiepiscopal Archive, Aranci brings to this work not only the detail and description one would expect of an archivist, but also an intimate knowledge of the archive's history. In his introduction, Aranci notes that the organizational system used in this catalogue is that put in place following a reorganization by Archbishop Monsignor Antonio Martini in 1788, when the entire archiepiscopal archive was catalogued into three sections according to its original sources: *Mensa Arcivescovile*, *Cancelleria* (Chancery), and *Tribunale Ecclesiastico* (Ecclesiastical Courts).

Although this inventory focuses on the *Mensa Arcivescovile*, the compiler has included a general index of the entire collection, enumerating the categories of documents contained in all three sections. The mention in the second section, *Cancelleria*, of a series of documents relating to *Compagnie religiose e società laicali* (Religious companies and lay societies) will be of particular interest to confraternity scholars. Similarly, an entry pertaining to *Cause civili* (Civil suits) contained in the

third section, *Tribunale ecclesiastico*, may merit further investigation by our colleagues.

In terms of the focus of this inventory of the *Mensa Arcivescovile*, scholars will find Aranci's detailed introductions to the six subsections not only informative from an historical perspective, but exceptionally helpful in terms of navigating one's way through the great volume of documents pertaining to the administration of all goods belonging to the archbishopric of Florence dating back as far as the fourteenth century. For each of the subsections (*Indice storico economico*, *Bullettoni*, and four series of accounts: registers, leases, receipts and letters), Aranci sets out the nature and extent of the contents of each folio. For those interested in the daily functions of the Treasury, its internal workings, its book-keeping practices, and the scope of its activities, the inventory, and Aranci's annotations, are invaluable. For scholars interested in tracing the lease of space by confraternities, or the purchase of goods from the archiepiscopal authority itself, this may prove a helpful place to start. One can only hope that don Aranci will soon publish a similar inventory of the *Cancellaria* and the *Tribunale ecclesiastico*.

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Bertoldi Lenoci, Liana. *L'istituzione confraternale. Aspetti e problemi*. Biblioteca della Ricerca, Puglia Storica 9. Fasano (BR): Schena Editore, 1996. 96 pp., ill.

Given Liana Bertoldi Lenoci's belief that lay association is a phenomenon spanning both time and geographical expanse, it is not surprising to find that a major portion of this book examines the historical roots and varying geographical manifestations of lay associations in western Europe. Before approaching the issue of Italian confraternal activity, Lenoci presents the reader with an overview of lay societies in classical Rome and Greece, guilds in the "mondo germanico," and, finally, confraternities in the "romano-cristiano" world, suggesting that the confraternities of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance are, in essence, merely one more form of lay association found throughout the ages. Geographical and historical factors, suggests Lenoci, are what produced the specific focus and organization of the variant we refer to as confraternities. In this first part of the book, Lenoci then goes on to enumerate the various historical and geographical aspects which have produced the specific manifestation that is Lenoci's principal focus: confraternities in Puglia during the Counter-Reformation, with particular reference to the effects of religious reforms brought about by the Council of Trent.

The second part of this slim volume is devoted to a study of the confraternities of Puglia during the seventeenth century. Here, Lenoci examines how diocesan control, socio-economic conditions, and various traditional *culti* shaped the Pugliese variant. Lenoci draws on a great number of documentary sources to produce a uniquely regional study that will interest scholars of the Counter Reformation and of confraternities alike.

In the third part of the book, Lenoci culls the expertise of a number of other scholars to produce an iconographic appendix documenting the cultural contributions and varying objects of devotion of a number of confraternities throughout Italy. The appendix, which includes photographs of altars, paintings, and sculptures, attests to the very broad approach signalled in the earlier part of the volume and provides an engaging visual record of the depth of devotion in lay religious societies.

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Howard, Peter Francis. *Beyond the Written Word: Preaching and Theology in the Florence of Archbishop Antoninus, 1427–1459*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1995. xi, 291 pp.

This volume devotes itself entirely to an analysis of a single text, the *Summa Theologica* of Antonino Pierozzi, better known as St. Antoninus, prior of the Dominican convent of San Marco and later archbishop of Florence (1446). Howard claims that Antoninus' *Summa*, a handbook and guide for effective sermonizing, can be used as a barometer for the social, ideological, and even political climate of the city in the mid-fifteenth century because Renaissance Florence remained, in spite of humanist literary and philosophical enthusiasm, a 'traditional society' characterized by an 'oral' and 'sermon' culture. Because preachers had to make theology both accessible and relevant to all the social strata of their audiences, Howard reasons that the structure and content of their sermons reveal as much about the audiences as they do about the preachers.

Beneath the very cautious 'thrust of this study ... that religion ... mattered in Renaissance Florence,' Howard claims that Antoninus' *Summa* indicates the existence of a strain of theology that originated neither in the scholastic mendicant convents nor in the humanist circles of biblical scholars such as Ambrogio Traversari. He argues that popular preaching in the city's piazzas generated a 'preacher theology' vitally important to civic life because, rather than concentrating on arcane scholastic disputes, it reflected and addressed the moral dilemmas encountered by Florentines in day-to-day life. Howard situates Antoninus' *Summa* squarely in this oral and context-oriented theology.

Howard insists that his study has implications for a proper understanding of the relationship between religion, politics, economics, and society. However, *Beyond the Written Word* focuses intensively and thoroughly on the *Summa* and only incidentally on the Florentine context in which Antoninus operated. We learn that, in the midst of growing discontent towards the conservative 1427 regime, caused in part by the agitation of the Medici party, Antoninus prepared a series of sermons that defended the regime by emphasizing an equation between political stability, public order, and salvation; there is no discussion, however, of Antoninus' role in the Medicean patronage system, nor of his cooperation with Cosimo de' Medici during the extension of the humanist library at San Marco or during the founding of the Buonomini di San Martino, the charitable confraternity for the shamed-faced poor.

Howard mentions that Antoninus played a decisive role in the 1458 *parlamento* that enabled the Medici regime to withstand a period of intense opposition; yet he provides no details on what that role was or even whom Antoninus supported. He argues that Antoninus' preached theology addressed the psychological needs of a society 'in crisis' because of rapid social change; yet there is no discussion of specifically how Florence was changing, what pressures were responsible, and how this change affected Florentine society. With the exception of Antoninus' positive views on interest-bearing loans (a delicate theological issue, but not one the Florentine had left unresolved in previous centuries), there is little discussion of exactly how Antoninus' sermons and theology addressed the 'psychological' needs of the Florentine congregation.

The strength of *Beyond the Written Word* lies in Parts I and II, in which Howard provides a thorough analysis of Antoninus' *Summa* and a detailed explanation of the technical aspects of the preacher's craft in Renaissance Florence. Part I, "The Making of the *Summa*" traces the intellectual pedigree and structure of Antoninus' work. Drawing on the summist tradition established by a writers such as Thomas Aquinas, John of Freiburg, Raymond of Peñafort, and Vincent of Beauvais (whose organization Antoninus borrowed wholesale), Antoninus compiled his manual with specific emphasis on the preacher's and confessor's flexibility and sensitivity to particular situations; Antoninus adapted the summist tradition to accommodate Florence, a city whose social complexity often confounded the maxims of older transalpine summists.

Part II, "A Preaching Mentality" examines Antoninus' methodology in his *ars predicandi*, the third part of the *Summa*, which sets out the mechanics of sermonizing: when and where one ought to give a sermon, the importance of attention to circumstances, how long a sermon ought to be, and the importance of teaching through persuasion rather than assertion.

Part III, "The Contours of Thought" discusses Antoninus' intellectual relationship to the Florentine church and the city's learned culture. In particular Howard disputes arguments made by Arnaldo della Torre and Alison Brown that Antoninus opposed humanist learning. Howard offers a persuasive counter-argument, reminding readers of Antoninus' notary father, who had constant exposure to Salutati's chancery, Antoninus' praise of Bruni as *eloquentissimus*, his friendship with Cosimo de' Medici and Niccolò Niccoli, and his incorporation into his *Summa historialis* of the histories of Bruni and Poggio.

Although essentially a study of a text, rather than a text in context as the title, introduction and conclusion imply, Howard's work contributes to Renaissance studies by providing a cogent interpretation and detailed analysis of the most important text of one of the fifteenth century's leading religious figures.

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Romero Samper, Milagrosa. *Las cofradías en el reformismo de Carlos III*. Madrid: Fragua, 1991. 146 pp.

In her prologue, Romero Samper explains how Spanish confraternities provided a means for individual members of society to belong to a larger corporative group approved by the higher authority of church or state. In eighteenth-century Spain, however, the modern state was growing in power and, regardless of the religious orthodoxy of any Spanish monarch, royalism often came into conflict with the Catholic church. The new secularism, influenced by French Jansenism, produced a political concept of the religious, which in turn led the educated leaders of the country to believe that confraternities were an obstacle to progress. They believed that guilds impeded industrial development and that the expenses of the brotherhoods took capital away from the national economy. After hearing many critiques of confraternities, King Charles III passed a royal resolution on 9 July 1783 to reform these institutions. The reform began as a way of reaffirming national unity and, although it illustrated the conflict between church and state, the church was generally in agreement with the new measures censuring excess in the brotherhoods.

Romero Samper's main argument, therefore, is that the reform of confraternities was part of a wider reformist project enacted by the Spanish government, a project with economic, social, political, cultural, and religious ramifications.

Romero Samper's work reviews studies to date on Spanish confraternities, brotherhoods, and congregations. She then divides her argument into two sections, the first on brotherhoods within the general politics of reform, the second on learned rulers' opposition to confraternities and brotherhoods. Each section discusses economic, political, sociocultural, and religious aspects of the issue. Romero Samper then closes with an epilogue and a list of ten general conclusions. Her citation of manuscript sources and her lengthy bibliography indicate that her research is wide ranging and thorough. Although slim, this volume will certainly be of interest to specialists of the Spanish enlightenment and of Spanish confraternities in general.

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Sebregondi, Ludovica. *Santa Croce sotterranea: trasformazioni e restauri*. Florence: Città di Vita, 1997. 70 pp., illustrations.

This is a slim but very thought-provoking volume on the different functions to which the underground spaces of the Basilica of Santa Croce in Florence were put over the course of several centuries. Now empty, except for a small area housing a permanent exhibition of the woodcuts of the artist Pietro Parigi (1892–1990), the subterranean space of Santa Croce had previously been used by such disparate groups as early-modern confraternities and the twentieth-century Italian fascist movement. In this work, dott. Sebregondi, with her customary solid foundation in Florentine archival sources, recounts the history and gives physical descriptions of eight such subterranean areas in the basilica.

The first sections of her volume recount the use to which Santa Croce was put by Italian fascists in the 1930s. There is a fascinating description of the planning, building, and later dismantling of the *Sacrario dei Caduti* ("Chapel of the Fallen") and two other chapels completed in the late 1930s to honour men who had died for the fascist regime. The following chapter describes the *Famedio*, a monument to Florentine soldiers in World War I erected under the sacristy, in a large space previously used by the Confraternity of San Francesco del Martello as its oratory.

Although *Santa Croce Sotterranea* is perhaps of primary interest to architectural historians or to historians of the Italian fascist movement, the work is also of interest to confraternity scholars because of dott. Sebregondi's meticulously-detailed history of these underground spaces. Links between various Florentine confraternities and the Franciscan basilica of Santa Croce were first forged in the thirteenth century and remained strong until the suppression of confraternities in 1785. Sebregondi often refers in her text to the many lay religious associations that used these spaces in Santa Croce during the course of five or more centuries. Particular attention is paid to the history of the spaces which were previously used as the oratories of the Compagnia della Natività della Vergine detta de' Librai (p. 44–47), the Confraternity "della Maddalena" (51–55), and the Confraternity "del Bernardino" (56–60). The volume would thus interest confraternity scholars if only for the information it offers on these three groups.

In this volume, a special publication of the Franciscan journal *Città di Vita*, Sebregondi has also included an impressive array of photographs and illustrations that demonstrate quite well the various stages of renovation and alteration undergone by the religious spaces she discusses. Most helpful is the diagram on page 19 showing the physical layout of the underground areas of Santa Croce and the use of the various underground areas over the course of time.

Sebregondi has done Florentine scholars a superb service with her *Santa Croce Sotterranea*. Anyone interested in the more distant or very recent history of the city will find her latest effort absorbing.

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Winston-Allen, Anne. *Stories of the Rose. The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages*. University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997. xiv, 210 pp., ill.

This study is an engaging scholarly treatment of a complex issue. As the author points out, "the rosary is more than a prayer in the conventional sense. It is also a literary text, a ritual and social practice, as well as an object of religious art" (p. xii). This book endeavors to explore the sources and practices surrounding devotion to the rosary in the Middle Ages, treating mainly the Latin literature surrounding its development, but considering also its vernacular manifestations.

Confraternity scholars will find much of interest in this work. Winston-Allen considers the emotive, inner experience of rosary devotion along with its social and

cultural ramifications. She traces the research done thus far on the issue, and looks at both the complexities and controversies surrounding the quest for a clearly-laid plan of development. The rosary is not one text but many, and so is examined as an interplay between text and context. It prompted the creation of legends, songs, poems and anecdotes, paintings, sculptures, and a multitude of other reflective works. Interest in the practice of the rosary resulted as well in the establishment of a multitude of confraternities in its name, and she deals with them at length.

Chapter One, “Early Rosaries,” traces the earliest Latin and Greek sources and influences as well as the contribution of later vernacular sources. Winston-Allen considers the relationship between the Marian psalters and the rosary prayer and their respective and joint roles in the evolution of confraternities in their names, and looks at the different facets of the devotion, providing an overview which she expands upon in later chapters. She speaks at one point of the further didactic agenda met by the addition of the Creed and Gloria to various rosary texts, but here perhaps misses a chance to discuss what this reader found to be a forgivable gap in her otherwise comprehensive source study—conciliar and theological evidence. While she does intend the book to be a history of social influence and practice, some evidence supporting the more “governmental” aspects of support or documentation in this vein would have been of benefit, as would have been an idea of Rome’s reaction to, or support of, rosary devotion and its development exclusive of the sometimes excessive indulgences granted in its name.

Chapter Two, “The Picture Text and Its Readers” explores the pictorial antecedents of the rosary and the relationship between text and image while delving into the social context of transmission, evolution and response (pp. 47–52). Visual media had an important impact on the development of rosary devotion and practices. Winston-Allen suggests that the unchanging nature of many pictorial representations associated with the rosary reflects an evolving textual tradition which seemingly mirrored itself on its visual medium. Indeed, this is a well supported conclusion which may have wider ramifications for the study of other medieval genres and topics that share a textual and visual history.

Chapter Three, “One for Sorrow, Two for Joy: Confraternity Writings, the Fifteen Mysteries, and the Observant Reform” deals with the teaching of the rosary and the eventual victory of the set of fifteen mysteries over a larger number of other emphases and textual versions, and will be of particular interest to confraternity scholars. Other chapters treat the development of the rosary narratives and their reliance on the symbolism of the rose, historically a product of secular and pagan as well as Hebrew and Christian influences. Another deals with popular songs, confraternity handbooks and sermon exempla in order to explore avenues of transmission and attitudes of reception. Chapter Six, “Rosaries and the Language of Spirituality,” considers devotion to the rosary and its various manifestations in the larger context of medieval popular and affective devotion.

Winston-Allen adds a welcome supporting voice to the chorus of medieval scholars who are continually faced with the difficulty of applying “modern” labels to texts which cross disciplines and genres. The rosary is just such a collection of texts, and provides an opportunity to see how an attitude toward religious devotion

created its own material, drew an audience, and evolved into a cornerstone of catholic devotion. Altogether, this book is an engaging, well-balanced and comprehensive treatment of a complex devotional, historical, social and cultural issue. Winston-Allen's excellent choice and treatment of both primary and secondary sources make her attempt to synthesize a millennium's worth of documentation and scholarship a success.

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MAR 18 2002

